1: Germ B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
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able to find their way back, settled in the mountains of Kikuyu.*

§ 15 The two above described classes of Kikuyu are distinguished among themselves by terms signifying respectively, "Dwellers in tents," or "Nomads," and "Labourers," or "Subjects" (*Kiregeki*).

§ 16 The present Kikuyu are said to outnumber the warriors in the proportion of four or five to one. The latter are estimated at some thirteen thousand families, of whom ten thousand are nomad, the remainder being settled in the towns and villages. All these warrior Kikuyu are divided into tribes, of which they distinguish three kinds: *mbiri* (great tribes), *gwikiri* (medium tribes), and *thiqiki* (small tribes). These are counted by tents or houses, each of which contains from five to twenty inmates. The great tribes are subdivided into *gwikiri* and *thiqiki*, or merely into *thiqiki*, which term is also generally used to denote a tribe, whether great or small. The small tribes which are unconnected with an *mbiri* are called isolated *thiqiki*.

§ 17 The tribe, or clan, consist of the family of the chief, and a number of other families more or less closely connected with it. In their encampments the tent of the chief is conspicuous among the others by its size, for it is the council chamber, court of justice, and general meeting-place of the elders of the tribe, and in it general hospitality is exercised. Clan feeling and devotion to the chief are the leading characteristics of these wild people. The head of the tribe is, however, not an arbitrary ruler, the voice of the

§ 18 [illegible]

§ 19 [illegible]

§ 20 [illegible]

§ 21 [illegible]

§ 22 [illegible]

* Hinde, *An Expedition to Mount Kenia*, &c., p. 110.

there are many refinements. The legal remedy for evasion, [207]
whenever detected, is simply the extension of the term of [207]
duty. There are, to be sure, many Sons of Nobles and [206]
upper-class families who, on the completion of their
secondary schooling, select the set employment and honorable
career of an army officer.

For the people of the district the corps, with the [209]
important employment of officials, the bustling crowd during [46]
hours of business, the guards, and its four-colored ensign [208]
fluttering above from a flagpole, is the physical symbol of
governmental authority. "The corps produce this," or "the
corps would arrest people that," is heard in popular speech.
But for many it is a place, neither of prestige nor yet
of oppression, but of sorrow, for in barrios dowse up
before its gateway depart the groups of recruits and
prisoners bound for Krell, and the people know that many
will never return. There is always a number of women to [211]
be found outside the corps, old and young, mothers and wives,
dressed in the stained, dark cloth of the countryside,
and often one will raise her voice in a low-pitched lament
or fall into tears. An enterprising Bostonian has set up [205]
an antique camera at one corner, and the prisoner and
recruit often exchange photographs with their wives, the
poorly-made prints that are so often brought out during the
long months of separation.

To one side of the corps, on one of the two streets 344
leading up into the town, is a small, square brick building 232
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getting that ownership a formal agreement, one does 463
there appear to be any pressure exerted against a man who 464
comes to attempt this or that employment. Occupations, it 467
is true, tend to remain ethnic families, as has been even
more particularly in the case of the peasants, but it is for
from an exclusive rule. There is some hierarchy in towns, 559
and an uniformly defined distinction between villages which 563
are market and those which are not. A successful peasant
or sheep-owner might well become a merchant, but the
merchant's son would rarely become a peasant. There is 166
also some exchange of persons between town and villages,
those seeking their fortunes in Sharazor and there,
successful or unsuccessful, returning to the land, but
migration from the town itself outside the district is
very limited. This does not apply to the army as a
whole, and large numbers of the Kurdish people of northern
Iraq, both men and women, migrate from their villages to
the cities. The Kurdish jundi or porter in Baghdad, as [582]
well as the Kurdish prostitute, are well known. The per- [548]
manent population of Sharazor, however, with its core of
older families from the days before the First World War,
seems extremely stable.

It remains to notice those people who constitute 556
the wealthier class of townspeople, and who, although some 565
are merchants, need not engage in labor unless they so
choose. A large number of people possess minor amounts
of capital or smaller holdings, such as Fatah-Allah, but

they do not constitute the influence, economic as well as social, in the community of towns of larger extent. Without enumerating the list of the "rich," the ten wealthiest persons in Rawandiz, together with the types of their property, are given here:

Ra'ūf Effendi: 1 house, 1 shop, money
Ma'ūf Ibrahim: 2 houses, 1 shop, money
Ma'ūf Mohammed Amin: 2 houses, 1 shop, money
Ibrahim Khalīl: 1 house, money
Isā Khan: 9 villages (including Spindl, Inat, many houses, about 20 shops, money
Mirī Ismā'īl Agha: 2 villages, land, 1 house
Ra'ūf Effendi: land, 8 houses
Jalāl Agha: 1 village, 1 house
Sayyid Ma'rūf: 2 shops, 1 house, money
Shakir Effendi: 1 village, land, 1 house

"Money," of course, here represents cash capital, and a "village" includes not only houses, but agricultural lands. It would be difficult to form any estimate of the fortunes involved, because, among other reasons, a single large building may have a greater value than a number of smaller plots totalling the same size. Similarly, a concentrated sum of money can be worth more in certain situations than its equivalent in agricultural lands, although most people in Iraq prefer to believe that this is not true. In any case, the holdings of such a person as Isā Khan, while they cannot compare with some of the immense estates of southern Iraq, represent many thousands of dinars. That these persons have their residence in Rawandiz adds to the importance of the town, quite apart from its role as a mercantile center, and many people in the town gain their livelihood wholly or in part from their service.

example, an Arab of Basra and one of Baghdad, but it does also appear to be of a serious nature. Among the Berbs, one can often hear the satire of a certain tribe pointing to the weaknesses of others. "The peculiarities of that of Sidi-Hamadiya is the best," a Rwet of this city proclaims in a discussion of academy, but feelings of this type do not operate to separate the people in any important way, because religious and ethnic divisions have much greater weight. On the other hand, tribal allegiance in certain rural areas has great importance, although increased government control in matters such as the residents has obligated their character to some extent. It is difficult to formulate any general rules for tribal conquest or conquest, because the distribution after intermarry with aristocratic houses of the same standing, regardless of tribe. The tendency among most tribesmen, Sharif or Arab, is toward marriage within their own group, because the endogamical match is between equals.

In the other divisions of society, two parallel systems, at many points interdigited, are to be found. In the first of these there is a single division between a hereditary aristocracy and a mass of commoners and this system is primitive or quasi-primitive. Here few families and certain areas held by groups such as the Thaleseans, the Shadeseans, or the Tenilla, most of Iraq has been partitioned for centuries among Arab tribes. The chieftains of these tribes and their subchieftains are aristocrats who inherit their position in the paternal

sion, usually with the common consent of the tribesmen. Amongst these are commoners, shepherds and peasants, and, in the villages, a number of merchants, craftsmen and planters. Some of these chieftains own little more than their own tracts of land, while others have immense fortunes and relations. Such leaders of this type are invariably associated with tribes, but some of the Kandish chiefs are feudal landlords without tribal affiliation, although their rights and duties are inherited in the same way. Generally speaking, men belonging to this hereditary group may marry beneath their station, but daughters are never allowed to do so. The chieftains themselves may be illiterate and wear the costume of their people, dark or light, but, insofar as they are powerful or wealthy, they move freely in the highest echelons of society. There is no vertical mobility in this system, and it is normally impossible for a commoner, no matter what his power and wealth, to become a chieftain, although one suspects that this has happened in the past.

The second system, paralleling the first, is of a different character and is the civilized society of the state. At its base are again shepherds and peasants, with the addition of the urban proletariat, labourers, servants, soldiers, and the like. The great cleavage in this group is the difference between literacy and illiteracy, judged in terms of matriculation in the secondary schools. It is difficult for us to appreciate the overpowering importance of education in this society. An educated man from the

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lower classes obtain upon a low and inferior status, be- 545
coming a gentleman. Never again is he allowed to engage 3.12
in menial labor, nor the name of his inferiors. Only 871
certain occupations are open to him, the government service, the professions, and, to a lesser extent, business. It is 555
the hope and dream of every father and mother of the lower 545
classes that one or more of their sons will be educated, and rise higher them, and they endure great sacrifices to this [871]
end, sometimes ill-regard by the young officials who scorn their plebeian manners and dress. For this very reason the aristocracy is hastily overburdened with new risen training does not permit them to return to "begetting" toil, and every year the number of applicants increases. For most, business has little attraction, the province of foreigners, Christians, and Jews, but it must be admitted that some Muslim families do have interested themselves in this way have proven much more enterprising and ruthless than their rivals of other religious and nations. Occupying the uppermost strata of this system are the highest government officials and officers, wealthy landlords, some of whom possess huge estates, and others of a similar nature, politicians, lawyers, and physicians. The middle class, of course, includes the lower government personnel, educators, business and professional men. The lower class begins with uneducated artisans and craftsmen and descends to the masses. There is no well-defined line of demarcation between these groups, save that which separates the educated and uneducated. There is also no bar to mobility, and the son of the poorest

peasant, by dint of education and enterprise, may rise to the highest ministry in the state. However, those families already in the upper classes, through wealth and influence, tend to retain their hold. As far as intermarriage is concerned, mates are sought who are equal to or higher in status than the person in question. It has been said that there is only one definite cleavage, but there is also a very fine sense of equality in terms of relative wealth and rank. It is possible for a man of the upper class of this system to marry into the hereditary aristocracy, and for a chieftain to take a wife from among the daughters of some official or officer, but, insofar as the aristocratic rank is patrilineal, there is no danger to the proud lineages in question. On the whole, there seems to be far less stringency in matters of marriage in this system than in the first. A successful lawyer, for example, a peasant by birth, might marry the daughter of a minister, but the daughter of a chieftain can never wed a successful peasant.

It would be incorrect to assign the Muslim clergy, the mullas of the Sunnites and the imams of the Shiites, to any particular horizon in the two systems, for they are to be found in almost all classes of society. They are literate, of course, inasmuch as it is necessary to be able to read the Quran, but there is some suspicion that a few have acquired chapter and verse by ear alone, without fully understanding the art of reading. An amusing [522]

beggar who, among other things, performed such feats as eating pebbles for alms in the shaythanag, as well as in one of the best-educated men of the community. 792 735

Turning to the Rowanduz district, it is possible to illustrate and to amplify these general remarks. First, there is a landed, hereditary aristocracy of Kurds. As far as one can gather from the meager histories of the area, the Kurds had been ruled by independent or semi-independent chieftains for an unknown period until Ottoman and Iranian power was able to extend its rule over them. This control, usually superficial, was never solidified until after the first World War. As rulers, the Kurdish chieftains led their people in war, arbitrated their quarrels, and, to some extent, directed their economy. In return for these things, they laid claim to a certain share of annual produce, animals or harvest. In some cases the chieftainship appears to have had certain democratic aspects, the new ruler, characteristically, but not necessarily, the eldest son of the deceased, selected from a noble household by an assembly of the tribesmen. In others it was purely aristocratic. As has been seen above, chieftains are many times associated with tribes, that is to say, there is no tribe without such a leader, but otherwise they are feudal overlords. Often a chieftain can be both the head of a tribal group and the "owner" of non-tribal lands and villages. The tenure of property illustrates this. Sometimes the land and flocks are owned by the 565 622 619 423

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tribal group as a whole from which the chieftain is "granted" his yearly share, while in other cases they are his personal possessions, inherited through the noble family, which he can dispose of as he pleases. It appears that a stage between tribal and feudal society is represented here, a combination of both systems which may have existed in this way for centuries, and which is largely primitive in character. 423 619 622 565

The aristocratic Kurdish households are, in fact, extended patrilineal families for which the term is _xwillya_, puzzling in its similarity to the Latin _familia_. The same noun is sometimes applied to houses of great wealth and numbers, but this seems to be comparatively rare. Only these households and _sayyids_, descendants of the tribe of the Prophet, keep genealogies (_sajara_, from Arabic _shajara_, "tree"). In the case of the _sayyid_ the title can be inherited on either side, but the patent of nobility is solely patrilineal. One of the tests of nobility is said to be the ability to name one's patrilineal forebears to seven generations, and no one in Rowanduz, outside of these families, is able to perform this feat. The titles of the nobility include _beg_, _agha_, and _sir_, all of Turkish derivation. In Ottoman times _pasha_ was also in use, and the grandfather of Isma'il Beg was called "Abdullah Pasha." The Arabic _shaykh_, literally, "old man," appears, as in such distinguished Kurdish figures as Shaykh Mahmud, leader of the revolts in 1922 and 1930, and Shaykh Taha, 565 596 [173] 64 565 85 554

noted for his piety, but it not only connotes chieftainship, in the sense of the Arabs, but also has a religious meaning. Certain Kurdish chieftains, shaykhs, were supposed to have an almost magical quality in their persons, and, for example, could cure ailments by the laying on of hands. In general, each son takes the title of his father, thus Rashid Agha of Jindian is the son of Muhammad 'Ali Agha, and all of his brothers have the same distinction. As far as hierarchy is concerned, beg, as in Mahmud Beg of the Baradost tribe, appears to have greater weight than agha, but there is no definite system. The investigator suspects, in view of some of the confusion in this regard, that titles are given very much as proper names at the time of birth. On the other hand, commoners never use them, even as names, and noblewomen have no such designations, although words such as amira, "princess," or khan, "chieftain," may appear in their appellations.

The chieftain, to a large extent, is the symbol of his people's honor, tribesmen or tenants, and this is a matter of supreme importance to both Arab and Kurd. Honor has a large number of aspects of which the most important are the obligation of vengeance, safeguard and sanctuary, the integrity of women, and hospitality. If a man has been murdered, it is incumbent on his relatives to avenge his death, and this is the beginning of the vendetta or blood-feud. The peaceful solution is the payment of hedelkhwin or blood-money, an amount calculated in goods or cash, but

to let Mahmud eg know of their presence and visit his diwanhana, orhe will think they look down on his hospitality, or, worse do not know him or recognise him as a chieftain." 622 574

Save fr the question of hospitality, it may be seen from the sectio on administration that the government takes a strong interest in chieftains' activities. The state lays claim to all unregistered land, amirya, which includes a large amount of "tribal" and village territory, and would prefr to collect taxes directly from the producers, thus otting off the most important source of aristocratic revenue. Some of the chieftains, abreast of the times, hav attempted to have tribal lands registered in their own names. The execution of the law belongs to the governmen, either the civil code of the judge or the tribal code of the qaimmaqam. Vengeance is also of the state, and hoicides are to be handled by the police and the courts, rther than the vendetta. Safeguard and sanctuary in a well-policed district are thought to be unnecessary. Modern Iraq is in concept democratic, and such titles a agha, beg, or shaykh, while they are widely used, do notenjoy the sanction of law. The army and the constabularyare thought adequate to handle military exigencies, nd the arming of a populace, particularly parties of bdyguards, is considered superfluous, if not dangerous. Thus the Kurdish aristocracy has lost many of its importan functions and perogatives. They are no longer leaders in war or administrators, and much of their 423 649 648 642 [692] [554] 565 178

economic wealth has been cut from beneath them. In an ideal situation, they may survive only as landowners and as they are able to obtain positions in the government. The situation, however, is far from ideal, and in practice many continue as their forebears, side by side with the new competitors. It cannot be denied that they accord the government considerable aid in the maintenance of order, and, at the same time, provide it with great anxiety in their private warfare and political thought. 565 [178]

This Kurdish aristocracy is by no means feeble in the face of such competition, and has the advantage of popular support and sympathy, particularly, as has been seen, because it represents a highly idealized group. It has been said that the Kurds are easy prey to doctrinaire philosophies, specifically Communism, but among them, save in certain of the well-educated, there is no knowledge or sign of what may be called a "class struggle," or, in older terms, the rich or privileged against the poor. The struggle is strictly between Kurdish society as a whole and what they consider an alien system. The investigator has talked at length with a number of dissatisfied Kurdish youths, as well as others in whom such sentiments might be expected, and has heard much of "good" chieftains and "bad" chieftains, but never the aristocracy condemned as such. It must not be thought that the speech of this aristocratic group is "reactionary," in the sense of opposition to modern innovations and the desire to return to older ways. Such things as automobiles, modern firearms, wirelesses, and 565 668 177 196

any technical device within their means have been assimilated with alacrity. European and American medical goods are eagerly sought, and there is almost a childlike faith in the wonders of the Western World. "We can," said an 186 "make of this area a Switzerland of the Middle East." The less well-informed, whose knowledge only extends to the Mediterranean, say the same thing, having reference to Lebanon. Insofar as family life is concerned, the Kurds, 186 comparing themselves to the Arabs, point with pride to 562 their "more enlightened" treatment of women in terms of the veil and social intercourse, but one is dubious of any wider extent of this liberality. In short, the Kurdish 565 aristocracy represents an extremely active class, un- 178 troubled by most aspects of Westernization, but weakened by their own dissentions and threatened by the encroachment of a new government. It seems impossible, in view of so many variables, to predict whether or not they will be able to maintain their integrity.

Inasmuch as they represent the first system in 622 which the only significant division is between aristocrat 565 and commoner, the Kurdish chieftains of the Rowanduz area are often uneducated and wear the national costume as it [291] has been described in the preceding section. Only a [871] moderate number from this group have obtained higher education and have subsequently entered the government service. [212] Many, indeed, are illiterate and have no knowledge of [191] Arabic, the language of the government. In Rowanduz only three aristocratic houses are represented, those of Isma'il

Beg, Nuri Bawil Agha, and Sadiq Agha. Because that of Nuri Bawil Agha has suffered adverse fortunes, the House of Isma'il Beg, headed by Lali Khan, has the greatest interest in the town, owning considerable property therein. Sadiq Agha and his brother As'ad Agha have a house in the town, but their property consists of a village elsewhere in the district. The House of Muhammad 'Ali Agha might be mentioned, for it is nearby at Jindian, and its sons, such as Rashid Agha, spend much of their time in the town. The chieftains, not only of these families but of the district at large, enter into daily life to a large extent. They provide a constant source of gossip and, to some extent, revenue, for they are everyday visitors to the town and make many of their purchases there. One might inquire how young chieftains such as Karim Agha, the son of Nuri Bawil Agha, or Rashid Agha of Jindian, spend their day, and the answer is that they do very little aside from visiting friends or strolling about the town, sometimes accompanied by bodyguards. Conversation accounts for a great deal of their time. The chieftains' relations with the government personnel are cordial, although they have nothing in common with the younger officials and officers. An interesting meeting took place between Sayyid Ahmad of Betas and the army officer, Colonel Khalid Naqshbandi, who had captured him during the last revolt and sent him into exile in southern Iraq. Both parties were amused at the meeting, and treated each other with the best of humor, Sayyid Ahmad,

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In contrast to the government, treating such affairs more 622
as apart rather than anything else. Sayyid Ahmad sub- 648
sequently recounted with some pleasure his experiences in exile, for he did not speak Arabic at the time. He heard the official in charge of him, for example, called "stupid" behind his back by subordinates, and concluded that this was his name, always addressing the unfortunate officer as "Stupid Beg" until he was finally corrected. In order [522]
to designate the type of meat he desired for his meals, he was forced to resort to imitations of the animals in question, and thought his own picture, that of a Kurdish aristocrat, a son of the great Shaykh Taha, flapping his arms and crowing to a bewildered Arab orderly, most amusing.

Toward the townspeople, the chieftains are much more 622
friendly, calling them by name and spending long hours 565
talking with those of higher status, such as wealthy merchants. They are not fond of either the chaykhana or the mosque, although one occasionally finds them there. Insofar [582]
as they do not marry within their own families, they prefer the daughters of the wealthy merchants and landowners of the town, for these are supposed to be more "refined," and hence to have greater prestige, than any village maiden. The daughter of Ra'uf Effendi, for example, is married to an aristocrat from elsewhere in the district, Agha Rashid 565
Agha (the first agha here used as a proper name). Among 622
themselves, there is extensive community of interest and 572

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11 Rowanduz

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social exchange, extending beyond the district itself, according to certain alignments. Lali Khan always has a number of visitors, such as Sayyid Ahmad and his brothers, and the same is true, to a lesser extent, of Sadiq Agha. These alignments, spoken of above, are formed on the basis of old feuds, family friendships, political sentiments, and the like. Normally the guests of Sadiq Agha are not to be seen at the House of Isma'il Beg, and the reverse is true, although there need be no ill-feeling between the two groups. To draw up a chart of these matters would be complex and of little value, inasmuch as they are perpetually changing and are vast in number. To give some examples, Karim Agha never visits the House of Isma'il Beg because of a feud, nor those of Sayyid Ahmad and his brothers because the latter are friends of Lali Khan. His own friend, a Hashid Agha (not of Jindian) calls on Sadiq Agha, but does not visit Lali Khan or Sayyid Ahmad because of his friendship with Karim Agha. Mahmud Beg of the Baradost is friendly with Sayyid Ahmad, but has nothing to do with Sadiq Agha, and hence Karim Agha and his friend, because he does not sympathize with a feud in which Sadiq Agha was involved. To extend the matter further, Karim Agha does not patronize merchants in the bazar who are friends or clients of Lali Khan. Similarly, Sayyid Ahmad, whenever he visits the town, has no traffic with those who favor Karim Agha. This network of friendships and alliances among the aristocracy is an important feature of their life, but it need not extend to the

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townspeople themselves, or to the government personnel, 622
although most of its details are commonplace. Marriages 565
between aristocratic houses often follow these alignments, 572
although now and then a wedding is arranged which will join [582]
two houses not normally friendly toward each other. A
chieftain with a number of daughters and sufficient wealth
and prestige to attract suitors can build up quite a system
of allies, thus increasing his own power, and the same can
be done with a number of sons.

Turning to the townspeople, who in the first system 565
constitute the mass of commoners, a rather confused social
hierarchy is revealed. Several concepts are responsible
for this, the first of which is that it is considered de-
grading for men of the "upper" class to work with their [461]
hands. The group of persons who are not so tainted, in
addition to the aristocracy, officials, and officers, thus
includes among the people of the town the clerks, land-
owners, mullas or priests, and businessmen, such as the
wealthier merchants and the owners of the chaykhanas and
the hotel. Such a person is termed effendi or "gentleman," [554]
and occupies the highest ranks of the commoner group. Two
examples are provided by Shakir Effendi and Ra'uf Effendi,
both landowners. In addition to their properties, Shakir
Effendi is the clerk of the judg's court and Ra'uf Effendi [693]
is the mukhtar or representative of the townspeople. The
chief mulla of the town is addressed as "Mulla 'Abd-al-
Karim Effendi." Literacy, a distinctive requirement of the [212]

565 [212]

upper class in the second system, is unnecessary for this group. Ra'uf Effendi, for example, cannot read or write, although he can sign his name and speaks four languages fluently. It is with these "genteel" commoners that there is intermarriage among the aristocracy, although commoners can never attain the rank of a chieftain. The basis of the class are either wealth or literacy. A mulla can be extremely poor and still enjoy the distinction. It might be mentioned that the lowest class of civil servants, the clerks, as well as Christians and Jews, if wealthy, are addressed by the same term elsewhere in Iraq. A teacher, however, does not always like to be called effendi because he has had a college or university education, and, no matter how poorly paid, belongs to the educated upper class of the second system. [582] [875]

Rowandus is non-tribal and does not, as a whole, owe allegiance to any particular chieftain, although the House of Isma'il Beg owns a great part of the town. "We do not belong to tribes," Ra'uf Effendi explained, "although perhaps our ancestors did, but we have no knowledge of them." Persons of the lower classes, transients or migrants from the villages, may, of course, retain such affiliations. In Ottoman times, Rowandus enjoyed an independence, just as it does today, from tribal or feudal obligations. The wealthy merchants of the town, particularly those engaged in the lucrative caravan trade with Iran, were called chelebis, another Turkish term for "gentlemen," [619] [621] 565 175

now fallen into disuse. In imitation of the aristocracy, many of the most powerful maintained followings of armed men and diwankhanas open to the public, and one might compare them to the "merchant princes" of other lands, for example, the burghers of Medieval Germany. They were, in fact, a pseudo-aristocracy. After the sack of the town during the first World War, and the decline of trade, this class suffered greatly in numbers and in wealth, although it is still represented by such persons as Ra'uf Effendi in the group of commoners designated effendis. One example of the manner in which the ghalabis and their modern successors have assumed the functions of the chieftainship is illustrated by sanctuary. In 1949 a girl of the town, detected in illicit relations with a young man, took refuge in Ra'uf Effendi's house. He protected her and arranged her marriage with the youth in question, with, one might add, the help of the police. One of the chief characteristics of this highest commoner group is its mobility, for any person who has obtained great wealth can add himself to it, just as those whose fortunes have declined can lose its distinction.

The second concept operating to form a hierarchy in the commoner group is the distinction between skilled and unskilled labor. The lesser merchants and craftsmen, as one might expect, are of a higher status than common laborers. This group of more favored persons includes the carpenters, cloth-sellers, cobblers, masons, poorer shopkeepers, tailors,

and weavers. Of slightly lower rank than these are the barbers and those engaged in providing food, the bakers, butchers, and meat-roasters. As has been seen, the meat-roaster or kababchi is considered lowly indeed. In the lowest category are to be found the atar or itinerant traders and unskilled labor, the bootblacks, the porters and workers, and the servants. Those engaged by the government, for example, the police, parallel this system. Ordinary policemen have the equivalent status of an unskilled laborer, while the non-commissioned officers enjoy that of the lesser merchants and craftsmen. The third concept, which acts to establish a spectrum ranging from effendi to the lowliest menial, is the question of relative wealth. A mason with a great amount of money or property, in spite of his calling, may enjoy the prestige of one who does not work with his hands. Thus to determine the status of any person within the commoner group, one must ask three questions, whether or not he labors with his hands, if so, the type of his work, and the extent of his wealth.

Within the group of townspeople, although one is usually deferential in conduct to a person of higher status, these things do not have as much importance in everyday etiquette as in marriage and in friendship. In both of the systems outlined, the grand cleavages have been indicated as the gulfs between aristocrat and commoner and between educated and uneducated, but, aside from these, there is an extremely delicate appraisal of relative equality, judged

in terms of the three questions just noted above. While 565
in principle a man must marry in his own or a higher status, 557
defined by employment and wealth, there is a constant 565
struggle on the part of parents to arrange marriages for 584
their offspring which will be socially advantageous. This
mobility, which has a moderate degree of realization, does
not exist for the opposite ends of the spectrum, for
example, the sons and daughters of a wealthy merchant would
never wed those of a servant, but is rather to be found
among those who neighbor each other in quality. The same 565
things are true of masculine friendship, such as calling 572
at an acquaintance's house. In America the officials of
a company may visit each other and in other ways express
their friendship, but an executive does not normally seek
out intimates among his workmen or pay visits to their
homes, just as in Rowanduz friends are to be found among
those of comparable status. This is clearly indicated by
jesting. A man can always have a joke at the expense of [522]
an inferior, but never the reverse. "Anwar, you do business
like a child," a merchant said to one below him at a
gathering in a chaykhana, evoking general laughter. The
person in question could only shake his head, laughing at
himself, and, of course, immediately sought out someone to
taunt in return nearer his own status. On the other hand, 565
as has been seen, servants, particularly those from the 367
village where almost all belong to the same social stratum,
think of themselves as members of the family, and regularly

advise or scold their employers. 565 [367]

Commoners make up nine-tenths or more of the population of the town. They are, of course, Kurds, and Kurdish is their primary tongue. A number of the older men speak Turkish and Persian, although these are now disappearing, and almost everyone commands a few words of Arabic. Their clothing is in the native style. Their relations with the officials and officers are much more extensive than those of the aristocrats, because many are employed by the government personnel, and are, on the whole, amicable, depending on the personality of the official in question. It has been seen that the doctor and one of the police officers were heartily disliked. It is interesting that officials are referred to much as the local aristocracy. Colonel Khalid Naqshbandi, no aristocrat by birth, was not addressed as officer, but simply as "Khalid Beg," a commander of the "government tribe."

[162] [191] [29] 565 571

Among themselves, the townspeople are governed to some extent by their mukhtar, Ra'uf Effendi, and by public opinion. It must be remembered, however, that this is a population of diverse origins, made up of families of the Ottoman town, newcomers from other Kurdish cities, such as Sulaymaniya, and of migrants and transients from the villages. Thus there is little of the solidarity to be found in an agricultural village. It has been noted that there is no mandatory communal labor, such as helping a man build his house, but rather optional neighborhood cooperation. For the townsmen there is no participation in

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In treating the class made up of officials and officers, certain things from the initial discussion in this section may be seen. The first of these are the religious and ethnic divisions. Calling to mind the distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims, a number of Christians are to be found in the official class in Rowanduz, for example, the postmaster and several of the teachers. Because of their religion, these men are at some disadvantage among their colleagues. At a gathering to which one or more Christians have been invited, they may be embarrassed whenever religious matters are discussed and are generally limited in the forcefulness of their words, for they are unable to argue with the fluency of expression permissable between fellow Muslims. A Christian teacher cannot castigate his pupils with the freedom of some other, often to his chagrin, for the students are aware of his social inferiority. Similarly, an occurrence of the distinction between Sunnite and Shiite in this class has been noticed. Of greater importance, however, is the division along national lines between the government class and the two other groups to be found in the town. Both the landed aristocracy and the townspeople are ethnically homogeneous, while the official class is diverse in its members, made up of Arabs, Kurds, and Turks, with the first group providing the greatest numbers. The Turks are little troubled, but a Kurdish civil servant must be circumspect in his conduct and exercise some care that he does not exhibit what might be interpreted as revolutionary sentiments or

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behavior.

behavior. The ethnic barrier between the Arab officials and the local inhabitants is by far the most striking. Divisions along lines of locale or tribe have little or no significance for members of the official class, although many of them, especially the Arabs, may belong to the latter type of group, in addition to their local origin. There is a certain amount of banter between natives of Baghdad, Basra, Mosul, or other cities, just as in America much is heard of the rivalry of various cities and states, but it does not operate in any serious way to divide the group. The force connected with tribal affiliations in Iraq appears to be only appropriate in its proper setting, and a pair of officials, members of two tribes engaged in a deadly feud in some rural area, seem to make nothing of it divorced from the actual scene.

Something of the relations of the official class to the aristocracy and the townspeople has already been indicated. While a number of the Kurds may regard the government in a poor light, it would be a mistake to assume that they do not have admiration or fondness for certain of the officials. Conversely, it would be equally erroneous to think that many of the officials do not have a paternal affection for their charges. Nevertheless, the whole theory of personal relations between officials and townspeople is based on the thesis that "familiarity breeds contempt," which has a certain amount of validity. An over-friendly mudir might be looked upon with more suspicion and distrust than one who was comfortably distant. Thus the more

highly ranking civil servants and officers never take refreshment in the shorbhaneg or worship in the town mosques. They do not visit the homes of the townsmen or attend their festivals, although, being men of substance, they may send gifts to their Kurdish neighbors on such occasions. The dividing line is to be found in the teachers, who constitute something of a separate group, looked down on by the higher officials and officers and flattered by the townspeople, perhaps, to some extent, because they exercise great control over the destinies of the sons of the town. It is possible to observe a teacher in deep conversation with some respected merchant in the bazar. One must digress to report that one of the teachers in Rowanduz fell in love with and married a girl of the town, undistinguished either in the wealth or the occupation of her father, much to the delight of her parents and against the advice and scorn of his colleagues and superiors. This created an scandalous, almost unheard-of situation, breaking down, as it did, the barrier between "educated aristocrat" and commoner, and the teacher is still subject to criticism, not solely on the part of the official class, although he shares much more extensively than his fellows in the social life of the townspeople.

One of the most salient characteristics of the official class is that it considers itself, with some justice, to be the most "progressive" not only in Kurdistan but in Iraq at large, judged, to a large extent, in terms

of a college or university education and the relative degree of Westernization. The officials and officers are all graduates of colleges or academies, either in Iraq or abroad, where many usages of Western civilization are often literally enforced on them by their fellow students. It would be difficult to describe fully the details of this influence, but it may be summed up in what, with certain reservations and qualifications, they consider to be the dress, mannerisms, and thought of a Western gentleman. Thus they wear European clothing, indulge in gaming and drinking (which, one might note, despite Islam, are by no means strangers to the region of the Middle East, save that in this case specifically European forms are encountered), and, in general, try to comport themselves in their work and in masculine society as their models abroad. There are a large number of reservations, a few of which may be enumerated here. The attitude of an Arab official or officer toward his womenfolk, in a rural setting, is, if anything, more stringent than that of the local aristocrats. None of the officials would consider appearing before other males nake[1] or "indecently" clothed, and almost all consider European toilet habits filthy in the extreme, water being thought far more hygenic than tissue. A large part of the passion for Westernization stems from a sincere desire, as they envisage it, to better their country, while in others it amounts to pure snobbery. In the latter category, one can often hear officials, speaking

[1] [should read: naked. —Analyst]

with each other in Arabic, heavily interlard their speech with English and French words and phrases. The official class can, with legitimacy, claim that it is the more progressive and better educated, but, as if to drive a wedge between itself and its subjects, the adjective baladi, "rustic," is used with fluency and condemnation. As this new "civil elite" continues to assert itself at the expense of its parallel, the landed chieftains, both Kurd and Arab, Westernization has become one of its distinctive marks.

Thus thrown back on themselves for these reasons, the distinctions between Arab and Kurd, and between educated and uneducated, and their insistance on "distance," the officials and officers have of necessity created a social life of their own, exclusively masculine. A private home in the upper part of the town, whose garden overlooks the gorge, was subsidized as a nadi or "club." This building is of a single storey, built on three sides about a flagged courtyard which forms the garden, and encloses only several rooms. Its previous occupant had been an educated effendi whose hobbies were the occult sciences, and he decorated the walls with snakes and other symbols in paint which might lead the uninformed observer to erroneous conclusions in the realm of popular religion. One of the rooms was furnished with chairs and benches, much as a diwakhane, another had a table and chairs for cards, and a third was utilized as a kitchen. Two of the townsmen were hired as servants. In the club one might purchase tea, sherbet, and,

sometimes, alcoholic beverages, and light refreshments, such as nuts, bread, and grilled meat. Activity begins at four or five in the afternoon, and, should a card party be in session, can remain open into the early hours of the morning. The rooms and garden are illuminated with lanterns, and at times an official or officer will loan a battery-operated radio for entertainment. Aside from gambling, however, the principle diversion is conversation, the men seating themselves in little groups according to their preferences. The conversationalists usually depart for their homes between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, one of the servants often accompanying them through the darkened streets with a lantern. Although not nominally members, persons of the aristocratic Kurdish class occasionally appear in the club, sitting by themselves or with some official of their acquaintance. It has been related how Sayyid Ahmad and Karim Agha were visitors in the course of an evening, but such appearances are by no means common, nor do the aristocrats indulge in gambling. As has been said, the officials and officers, unless they are Kurds, do not visit the houses of chieftains. No woman is ever seen in the club.

Aside from the month of Ramadan, during which most assume the appearance of piety, the chief entertainments of the higher officials and officers are drinking and gambling. The drinking-party has been described in a previous section, and is usually associated with a game of cards.

of cards. The game itself is unvarying, as well as its particular form, poker of the type called "five-card stud" in America, one card dealt downward to the player and the other four up. The usual amount of an individual wager is 50 fils (about $0.14), and, in a party of eight players, a typical "pot" contains as much as two dinars ($5.60). Inasmuch as the salary of any official or officer is not large, it follows that an unskillful person can lose money he can ill afford.[1] The gambling debt is becoming a feature of life for the official class in Iraq. Most of the players, however, are familiar with each other, and it need not be supposed that the Arabs, however new it may be to them, are unskilled in the subtleties of card-games. The games are held either in the qadi or in the home of the qaimmaqam, and others attend not solely to play, but to drink and to hold conversation. In addition, the officers play a form of "bingo" for small stakes in their mess, and one or two of them often arrange a cock fight, either of a pair of roosters or of chikaw, the mountain partridge, on which there is heavy betting.

The official class, the upper stratum in the second system, differs significantly from its parallel in the

[1] The salary of a typical mudir, the administrative official of a nahiya, the smallest unit, is about twenty dinars ($56.00 per month and 240 dinars ($672.00) per year. This is about the same income as that of the merchant Fatah-Ullah, mentioned above. The mudir, however, is given free quarters and other allowances, and receives an increase in pay every three years until he reaches the rank of a qaimmaqam. It can be seen how such an official feels that he cannot immediately afford marriage.

first in the matter of hospitality. For both aristocrats and commoners of the first system, the doors of the house are theoretically always open to guests or travelers, no matter what the station in society of either host or visitor. Thus, a peasant or a shepherd is unashamed to have someone of higher rank in his home, and what little he possesses in the way of food, drink, and shelter is willingly offered. Conversely, no person of the lower classes is disturbed by availing himself of the hospitality of a chieftain, although, of course, he does not expect the ceremony expended on a superior. This is by no means unique in Kurdistan, but can be discovered in almost any rural area of the Middle East. For officials and officers the situation is somewhat different, because they are forcefully governed by a principle of reciprocation, a matter of personal honor, in effect that a man cannot accept the hospitality of another unless he can return it in kind. To give one of a large number of illustrations, a party was given by the governor of Nasariya, attended only by five other men of the town who were possessed of the means to entertain the governor in a similar fashion. The governor had asked a minor official, and, when this person failed to appear, went to the extent of sending his automobile after him. When the official in question finally arrived, he made a hurried excuse, "the illness of his wife," and again departed. The reason, clear to all those present, was that his meager salary did not permit him to accept the governor's

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invitation, because he could not repay it. This minor official was not a subordinate of the governor. In Rowanduz this principle operates to limit visiting among officials of different rank, although the matter is partially solved by the club and the qaimmaqam. The latter simply orders the attendance of those of his subordinates he wishes present at a gathering, and they are thus able to attend without inconvenience to their honor. Generally speaking, the official class of the town has three cliques, those persons who can afford gambling and drinking and who are interested in these pastimes, those who have the means but are not interested, and those whose pay does not permit them such luxuries. This last group is largely made up of teachers who have gatherings of their own, visiting in each other's rooms and exchanging meals. The qaimmaqam and other high officials are sensitive to the financial difficulties of the teachers, and do not include them in their invitations or "orders" for an evening's entertainment.

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Two demands of etiquette, although they may occasionally be observed in all ranks of society in the town, are to be found in a heightened form in the behavior of members of the official class. The first of these is that it is considered impolite to admire too vociferously anything belonging to another. In the case of children or houses, the rationalization is that this will bring catastrophe to the admired object, because such remarks can unwittingly conceal the malice of the evil eye, or

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the wives of other officials, although this is far from a common practice. The wife of an official can be extremely lonely as far as feminine companionship is concerned. Townswomen of the lower classes suffer no such inconveniences, and associate with each other with great freedom. There is a mosque for women alone in the town, frequented by those of the lower classes, and is said by the townsmen to be used more as a clearing-house for idle talk than for pious exercises.

If the society of adults in Rowanduz has its hierarchy, there is a very real, but short-lived, democracy for the children. The youngsters of all, officials, aristocrats, and townspeople, play with each other without any reference to the ranks of their parents, and choose their leaders in the same way. The son of a servant can be "chieftain" over his fellows, and the daughter of a laborer the arbiter of her playmates. This stage passes without any apparent difficulty as the exigencies of life call them to different tasks, some to school and others to work in their fathers' shops. New friendships, better fitted to the demands of relative status, replace those of childhood. It need not be thought, however, that these early alliances do not extend into later life, although such acquaintances do not visit each other's homes.

In concluding this section, it is possible to relate the society of Rowanduz not only to that of the town in Ottoman times, but to Iraq and the Middle East at large, and to present several observations of some importance.

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Rowandus, as a minor administrative and mercantile center, stands almost midway between the agricultural village and the great city. Its populace is divided into three groups, the Kurdish aristocrats, the townsmen, and the official class. It is here, rather than in the villages, that the displacement of the aristocracy is more clearly in evidence. In Ottoman times the divisions of society were stabilized. There was little motive or means for the son of a townsman to become a civil servant, although this occasionally took place, and it was impossible, as it still is, to become an aristocrat. The addition of the officials and officers of modern Iraq, a "new elite," and, in particular, the institution of schools which makes [557] entrance possible, has radically altered this arrangement. It is now theoretically within the reach of any townsman to have a son enter the ranks of the official class, and it is for this reason that they insist so avidly on the education of their heirs, placing high hopes on their success in the schools. Strictly speaking, the society [186] of the town in disjointed, for the townsmen continue to regard the official class as alien, and have adopted little of their dress and manners. On the other hand, they have been quick to realize that the new system offers an opportunity for social advancement and are eager for their [557] children to take advantage of it. In short, the townspeople have been absorbed into the second system, although the first continues to operate elsewhere in the district,

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 . MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

as in the case of Mahmud Beg of the Baradost who rules as did his forebears, and must be counted as a factor in everyday life. It is thus that one finds a duality of thought and behavior as far as the two aristocracies are concerned. A landowner in Rowanduz spoke of the chieftains as though they were the only important element in society and, at the same time, alternately praised and castigated two of his sons for their respective success and failure in school. The youth who had failed was regarded as a great disappointment, a condemnation which would not have occurred fifty years ago when the upper echelons of society were either inaccessible or unconnected with the prestige and power of the new servants of the state.

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a noun precedes its genitive and is inflected, for example, 601
xushki mard, "sister of husband," rather than mardxushk. 193
This last series of observations is not that of the investi- 197
gator himself, but were offered informally by E. M. McCarus, a linguist who has made the Kurdish language the subject of an extensive study.

In approaching relationships within the mal or 554
"house," several things must be emphasized in order that a 577
proper perspective may be gained. The first of these is 602
the question of family honor. Personal honor, for example, in cases in which a man might acquire a reputation as a liar, a thief, a weakling, or the like, seems always to be dwarfed by the larger matter of family honor, and, as noticed in the section treating society, this is closely connected with that of the household's women. This is measured in two 562
regards, whether or not the woman has been chaqte prior to [836]
her marriage and whether or not she remains faithful to [837]
her husband after it. One of its several expressions, for
women of the upper strata of society, the townswomen of [565]
wealthier homes and the wives of the aristocrats and [291]
officials, is the wearing of the veil. Such women are required to conceal their faces, if not their persons, from those unrelated or not intimately known to their families. The women of the lower classes are unveiled, but even then are not permitted extended traffic, such as lengthy conversations, with males unknown to their husbands. The decorum demanded of women serves to orient relationships within and without the household. Coupled with this

wife, while taking advantage of labor which will no longer be available when the girl is married. Very few toys, including dolls, are to be found in the town, and the girls characteristically amuse themselves with an infant brother or sister as they might a plaything. Sexual education begins early in life, and does not seem to constitute a disturbing factor until adolescence. There is no standard parental formula for masturbation, and it was said that "some parents beat their children for this, and others advise them." It might also be noted that obscene language is freely permitted in most Kurdish households, except in the presence of the elder males. One, for example, heard a mother call her daughter a "prostitute," and a little girl, who could scarcely appreciate the meaning of the word, addressed her sister in the same fashion.

In adolescence the thoughts of the children of the townspeople are turned to more serious matters, those of the youths toward a career and those of the girls toward marriage. The boys of the lower classes are gradually introduced to the trades of their fathers, helping them in the shops, and the girls must account for many of the domestic tasks. The sons of the wealthier townspeople are occupied the greater part of the year with their education, while aristocratic youths usually ignore both school and labor, following their fathers and elder brothers. The daughters of a number of wealthy families in Rowanduz

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 193 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowandus

attend school, but none has yet sought any other career than that of the housewife. For the youths, failure in school is a personal and domestic tragedy of great moment, because it precludes a career in the government or the army, and they are often severely castigated by their disappointed fathers. At the same time, politics, the primary conversational topic of the townsmen, becomes an extravagant interest of the young men, and such matters are discussed endlessly. Homosexuality, or, at least, a very intimate masculine friendship, can be a temporary feature of this period, usually ended by marriage. It must be confessed that many of the young men of the town spend much of their time unemployed, lounging in the chaykhanas or tea-shops where, through enlisted personnel of the army or certain vagrants, they can be exposed to influence of this type.[1] A person listened to an elder brother berating one of his juniors for spending too much time in the tea-shops, a situation of some concern to the family. Adolescence can thus be a time of great stress for many of the youths of the town, and distraught young men form a type frequently encountered.

[1]One was consulted by many of the townspeople for medicine or advice. One youth of the lower classes complained of "weakness," and sought some sort of remedy. On being questioned, he confessed that se coitum cum asinis per noctes fecisse, but this, prohibited by both religious and civil law, appeared to be a rare and isolated example. It does, however, illustrate the extremes which stringency in premarital sexual relations can create.

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

next to the sarcophagus, is a wooden stand on which are to be found bowls of flowers and a framed photograph of the deceased. Visitors to the house are expected to call at the mausoleum, and to recite the Fatiha, the opening chapter of the Quran, for the benefit of the dead. A tomb arranged in this way, while it is not usual in Kurdistan, is characteristically Islamic, and similar structures for the burial of great persons may be encountered almost everywhere in the Middle East.

In closing this section, it might be remembered that it was chosen to confine the discussion to the Kurdish townspeople. The family life of the Kurdish aristocracy is identical with that of the commoners of the town, save in the broader inclusion of relatives in the familiya and in the size and splendor of its celebrations. That of the government elite, the officials and officers of Arab or Turkish descent, has a background elsewhere in Iraq. The language and customs in an official's family are usually Arabic. This last, however, must be taken with qualification because the government elite are largely recruited from the upper class of society, and, as educated "moderns," may ignore, or, indeed, be ignorant of the folk customs of their village or town of origin. Similarly, the family of a married official, if he has brought his wife to Rowanduz, is limited in the sense that it is separated from the large body of kindred to which it belongs in another area, and a number of events in the official's life, such as inheritance

or marriage, have their focus in that place, rather than in the town. It is interesting that this class, which regards itself as "modern" and "progressive," should reinforce things held to be reactionary by some of the townspeople, specifically the absolute segregation of women. Even a radically-minded official would not dare to let his wife have the same freedom in the town she can enjoy in Baghdad or some other city. The townspeople often commented on the peculiar behavior of the medical officer who kept his wife in the greatest seclusion, although those who had caught a glimpse of her said she was no particular beauty. This segregation on the part of the officials and officers has an automatic effect on the townspeople of greater wealth who do the same to their own wives and daughters where otherwise they might have permitted them greater liberty.

The primary task of this section has been to present an analysis of the family life of the average townsman, and it is important to notice that the family does not seem to constitute an important area of change in the transformation of the culture. Ra'uf Effendi, like so many elders, remarked that the society of the town had changed for the worse from Ottoman days, but, on going over all of the affairs of the family, he was only able to conclude that "youth had greater respect for age" fifty years ago. In spite of this observation, the family in Rowanduz is still a distinctly patriarchal organization and its members are

bound to it by strong ties. In contrast, in the families 593
of the government elite, not those of the town, but others
encountered in different areas of Iraq, the larger family
can break down, sons rebelling against their fathers and
disassociating themselves from their relatives. It is in [762]
the official class, rather than among groups such as the [733]
commoners or aristocrats of Rowanduz, that alcoholism and [565]
suicide is found.

It has not been thought necessary to compare the 593
family life of Rowanduz at every point with that of other 171
Islamic groups, for that would require material so ex-
tensive that it would double the size of this study and
obscure its central theme. The reader who wishes to do
so may have reference to a number of works, for example,
Edward Lane's remarkably detailed treatment of Egyptian
life in the nineteenth century, and one feels confident
that he will reach an identical conclusion, that the struc-
ture of the family in Rowanduz is almost the same as that
found in similar towns in Egypt or Syria.[1] The departures
of Rowanduz, for example, cutting the hair of the new head
of a dead man's household, are not large in number and are
wholly in detail. The usages of the townspeople seem to be 171
much less elaborate than those of, say, the inhabitants of 184
Egypt in the nineteenth century, but further investigation
in the Rowanduz district which would take into account
the agricultural villages might reveal additional peculiarities.

[1]Lane, 1908.

this as a career simply starts to study with some mulla 874
who already has a position, and, when judged to have 793
shown proficiency, will begin to be supported by the
mosque. Others may study at the mosque-schools in Baghdad,
Damascus, or other cities, or even seek the famous Mosque
of al-Azhar in Cairo. In the first case, the student can
ultimately assist and replace his teacher, or the latter
may find him a congregation of his own, for there is an
exchange of information of this type between the religious
leaders of a given locale. The training itself consists
in reading the Quran and other devotional works, and
committing the necessary prayers and formulae to memory.
These tasks are by no means easy, and demand intellectual
gifts above the average. The "best" mullas are those able 793
to rehearse the entire Quran from memory, an exercise
which requires almost a day. The Quran, it might be noted, [537]
is not recited in ordinary tones, but chanted, the voice [538]
rising and falling in various cadences. Because much of
it is poetry, the tonal qualities of the words, the
imagery they convey, and a dramatic and melodious delivery
can elicit the strongest emotional response in listeners.

Mullas are drawn almost exclusively from the ranks [565]●
of the commoners, and no one in Rowanduz could think of a
case in which a member of the aristocracy had embraced such
a career. A pious chieftain, as his age and reputation for 792
sanctity increase, becomes known as a shaykh (Arabic, "old 756
man"), a title which is sometimes hereditary, but does not

gradual increase of their holdings, have reached a position 174
of dominance over their neighbors. In Kurdish feudalism 423
the chieftain "owns" the lands of his tenants and levies 566
a yearly tax. The terminology of feudalism, however, is that of the tribe, and, as has been noticed, a Nestorian Christian tenant may be spoken of as "belonging" to this or that chieftain's tribe and wear its traditional garb. The two systems, the tribal which is primitive in character 423
and the feudal which is based on individual ownership of 566
land but which is also pseudo-primitive, are intermixed in the Rowanduz district. There are men who are the leaders of tribes, others who are feudal landlords, and still others who are both. The aristocracy is undifferentiated [565]
in terms of the tribal or feudal systems, using the same titles, and is based on noble descent. The relationship between the chieftain and the tribesman or tenant is always in personal terms. Just as in the case of the tribe, the feudal landlord is expected to direct the life of his tenants and to avenge them. The commoners identify their honor with that of their chieftains and are glad to give up a share of their produce, for they partake of the prestige of their superiors. Although there is no structural deterrent, the mixture of tribal and feudal systems in Kurdish Iraq is normally decentralized, segmented into hundreds of groups whose relations with one another are not always amicable. Lastly, with the exception of the Nestorian Christians, the chieftains and commoners belong [563]
to the same ethnic unit and are qualitatively undifferentiated

it has had a new class added to its society, that of the officials and officers, and, more than any agricultural village, has been absorbed into an unfamiliar system. The government elite of the town are on an equal footing, as far as prestige is concerned, with the local aristocracy and enjoy the advantage of having the real power. Already certain changes, which might have been anticipated, are beginning to take place. A few merchants in the town have adopted the European dress of the official class, and men are determined that their sons, if humanly possible, will be educated and take a higher place in the new hierarchy of society, something previously impossible. It is in Rowanduz, then, that a new social structure is being realized as it is elsewhere, for example, among the Marsh Arabs of the southern provinces. It is one of the state of Iraq, rather than the tribal and feudal system which is characterized by the absolute difference between aristocrat and commoner. At present, the contest between the government and the Kurdish nobility has only been partially decided, but, failing some major event, it seems probable that the Kurdish chieftains will be eliminated as a distinctive class and be able to save themselves only as landowners and participants in the new regime.

The relevance of the second object of this study to ethnology is not that it has formulated something new or unique, but that it supplements the large body of material already gathered on the transition of primitive into

4: Hansen E-5 (1937) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

562 keep their wives in seclusion, and this practice has quite recently sprung up being due to Turkish influence ..."[26]. And Edmonds writes: "Many travellers before 1914 recorded their impression that Kurdish women enjoyed in general a good deal more freedom than their Arab, Turkish and Persian [595] sisters"[27]. In regard to marriage and the polygyni sanctioned by the Coran and known in other [834] Muslim areas, Soane[28] declares that: "The Kurd from north to south is monogamous" adding:[29] [581] "free intercourse between the sexes is the rule, and the result is a large number of love marriages ...".

It is fact that the individual Kurdish woman of the upper class has, in situations difficult for the Kurdish people, sprung into the limelight, which seems incompatible with the view adopted con- 175 cerning woman's restricted possibilities of action in Muslim areas, but may possibly be due to the 562 prominent position of their families[30]. Khanem Osman Pasha, Lady Adila of Halabja[31] of the Ardalan 565 Vazir family, married to Osman Pasha of the Begzade family, is the best known case. Her husband, towards the end of the Turkish period, was made the *qa'im maqam* in Halabja. Even whilst he was alive all effective authority passed to his wife. In 1910 Major Soane lived as a servant with her son, Tahir Beg, after Soane had accepted Islam in 1906 and, under the name of Mirza Ghulam Husain Shirazi, travelled in these areas in disguise. Later, under the British mandate after 1918, it was she, now a widow, with whom the British political officers negotiated. Her personality must have been

Fig. 2. Village aristocracy. Married woman at the garden basin. Surkan.
Fig. 3. Village aristocracy. Married woman making cigarettes. Serkan. (See p. 10).

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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA1: Kurd MA11

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Fig. 4. Peasant woman baking bread on circular iron sheet. Balkha. (See p. 45).

a very strong one as she was definitely in opposition to Sheikh Mahmud of Sulaimani, head of the holy family of Barzinji sheikhs[12], and the representative of the dream of a free and independent Kurdistan. Lady Adila died in 1924 during the British mandate period. Her grave, which I visited at a burial ground near the village of Ababeile, some distance from Halabja, was in 1957 deserted and neglected. My interpreter told me that it was in accordance with Lady Adila's own wish that her grave was neither marked nor maintained, but added that people drove sheep and goats over the grave, and that, altogether, there was but little sympathy for the memory of Lady Adila of Halabja, an attitude that appeared to be shared by my interpreter, who, on another occasion, referred with the deepest veneration to Lady Adila's political opponent Sheikh Mahmud, as the real ruler and *malik* (king) of Kurdistan.

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Whereas Lady Adila thus cooperated with the British mandate authorities at the beginning of the twenties, another prominent woman, Hafsa Khan, cousin of Sheikh Mahmud and married to his brother, Sheikh Kader, arose in the opposition circles of Sulaimani. She was sufficiently wise to accept

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responsibility for a group of British officers which had been taken prisoner by her cousin and brother-in-law, Sheikh Mahmud, during the disturbances in that town in 1919. The wisdom of this was demonstrated shortly afterwards when Sheikh Mahmud was captured near the Bazian Pass and, on account of her behaviour, a sentence of death passed upon him was reduced to imprisonment for life[33], which later was rescinded.

Another prominent Kurdish woman, Fātima Khan, is referred to by Edmonds[34]. After her husband's death she administered his estate which comprised eight villages. Elected by the inhabitants of the villages she negotiated, although a woman, with the government authorities.

The information available from various male authors can be summed up as follows: The Kurdish woman is said to possess a far freer position than is the case in other Muslim areas. She does not veil, except in towns and urban surroundings. Monogami prevails. "Love marriages" can occur.

Below I shall describe the extent to which this information tallies with my personal experience as a woman amongst Kurdish women in Southern Kurdistan.

Fig. 3. Peasant woman crushing wheat in a revolving grinder. Topzawa.

Fig. 4. Urban milieu. Uneducated married women and educated girl taking tea in the courtyard. Sulaimani.

The Kurdish women whose cultural pattern is to be considered below cannot, in my view, be grouped under the common denominator of "the Kurdish woman". Even on the basis of such relatively limited investigation material as was available to me, four different female environments can be pointed to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division is that between village and provincial environment, but these two groups can be further subdivided, though on different principles.

The village milieu can be socially divided into two strata, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the former belong the sheikh houses in Topzawa, Shadala, Sargala and Serkan. I visited peasant homes in Topzawa, Rikawa, Mirza Rustam and Balkha. The police official's house I dwelt in at the ferry town of Mirza Rustam was in between the two.

The provincial town environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban milieu) I first met with in the local Liwa capital, Sulaimani, but also in Kirkuk, Halabja, Tawella and Rowanduz. The women of this urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given schooling, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These two groups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the home of my interpreter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group whilst the daughters had attended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of urban women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

The part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern sub-tropical zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a hot, rainless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent shower on June 5th (1957). The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part built together in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat roof of the undermost house forms an open space outside the one above it. The communications consist of mountain tracks hedged by scrub and heaped-up stones, or the bottom of dried-out water-courses. No attempt has anywhere been made to level the ground. The watercourses and springs

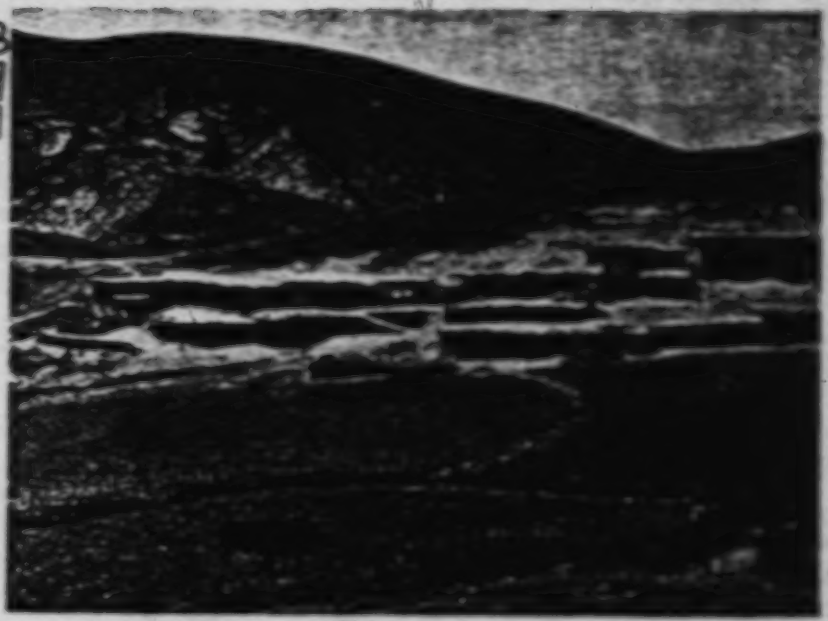

Fig. 12. The tobacco field in ploughed with oxen. Tegnere.

Tobacco is not fermented. Pulverized tobacco cannot be rolled for cigarettes, but is poured by hand into cigarette-sized paper tubes rolling in a cardboard cylinder. These paper tubes, inserted in each other and collected in large packets, are purchased at the city in the town. They are placed in vertical groups on metal trays. The filling of the paper casings with pulverized tobacco is woman's work. (Tobacco sample: E. 2345).

Woman's world, like man's, is subject to the social structure of the village.

The villages I had an opportunity of visiting belonged to an Ajiff or myself. He had no need to live in the village, for he could, for example, have resided in Sokkomai on the Sandbian plateau. Ceremonially the owner of a village could be a woman managing the property for a son who had not reached his majority, as was the case with Lady Adda's daughter-in-law, who at the time I was her was living at Sokkomai. It was said that she owned "many villages and watermeads". If the owner of a village did not dwell on his property he had in the village, according to Lambi, a manager "Lokko", to represent him. A village owner could be of the same family as his tenants or farmers, in which event relations were purely tribal. In cases I was able to investigate in Tegnere, Bakoma, Bergalo and Sorkan the shebbe were not related to the inhabitants and conditions were feudal. The

Fig. 13. Village houses built up the slope, Tepecene.

owner of the village leased the ground to his farmers and some could sell, move away or starve to without his sanction[49]. Tenants owned their cattle, their implements and the only part of the house construction that was of value, the big poplar trunks that were used as rafters.

According to information obtained through my interpreter, tenants handed over 30% of the tobacco crop and 10% of all other crops, besides ploughing, harvesting and threshing for the village owner[50]. On another occasion the interpreter gave the amount as 50% of both wheat and tobacco. However this information must be taken with reserve. Edmonds[51] gives 10% of the winter crop—wheat and barley—plus fees for grazing, butter and eggs. Leach[52] states 30% if the tenant himself supplies the seeds and possesses agricultural implements, but 75% if the owner of the village has to supply them.

During the British mandate period, 1918-1932, the Land Settlement Commission was established to "a point of claims relating to questions of land tenure" in connection with a "comprehensive programme" of surveying for the purpose of ascertaining systematically all cultivated land and finally "settle and register proprietary rights"[53]. A representative of this commission held a meeting with farmers in the sheikh's courtyard at Serkan during my stay there.

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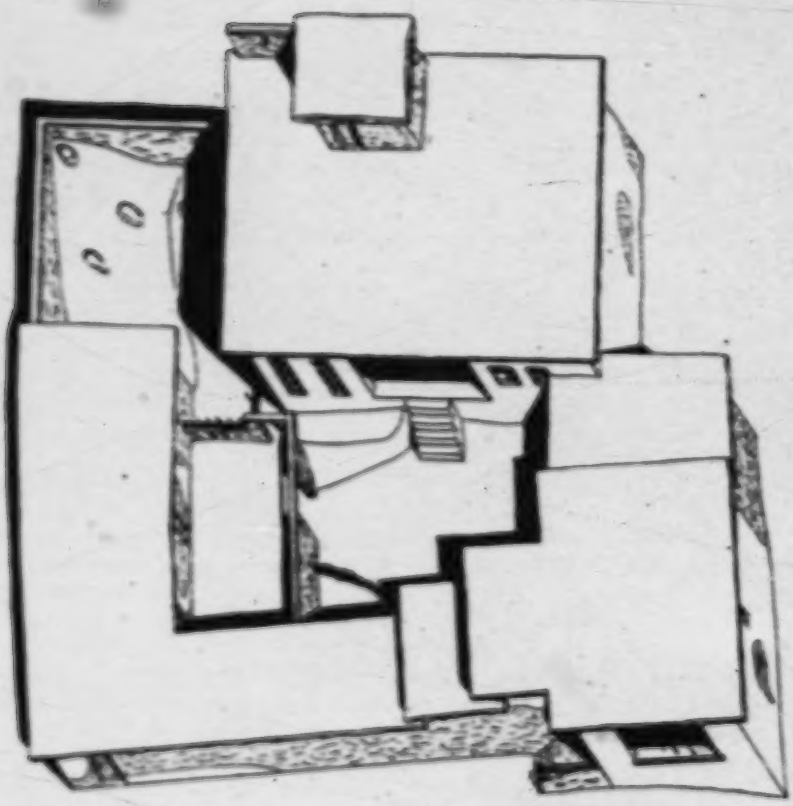

Fig. 22. Bird's-eye view of Sheikh Salih's property, Tepe

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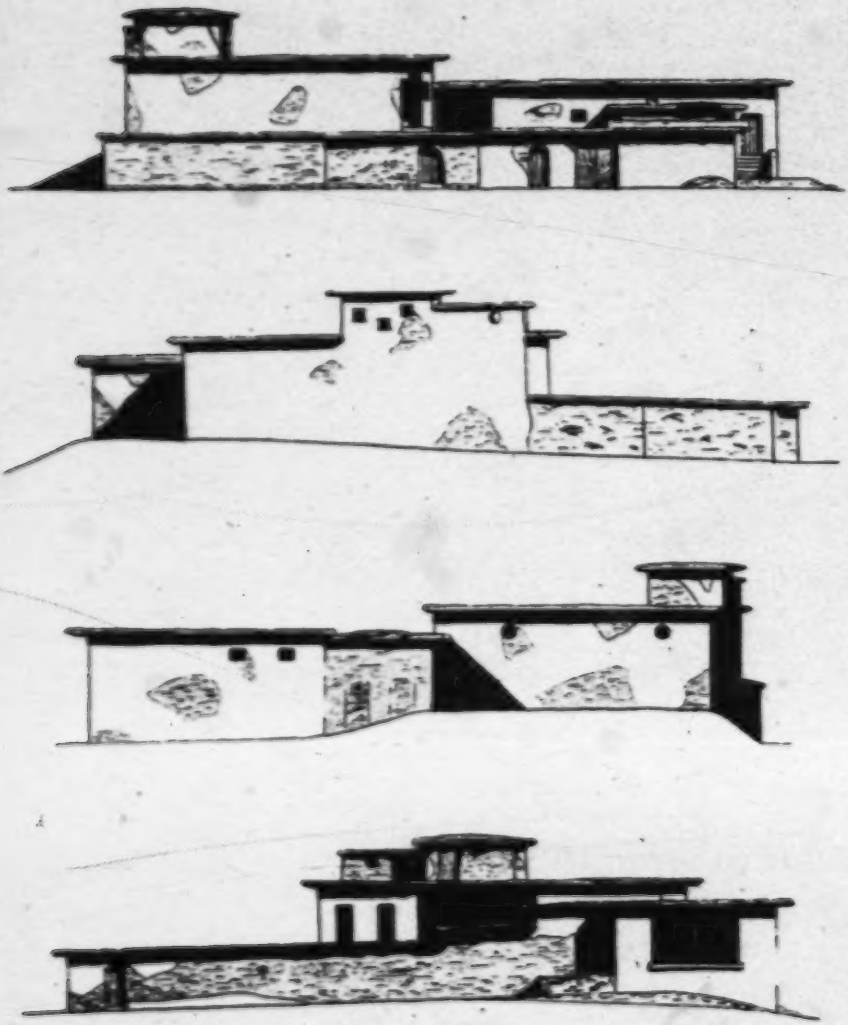

Fig. 23. Elevations of Shaikh Taffar's property, Tepsawa. From above: west, north, east, and south side.

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HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO FOUR FEMALE ENVIRONMENTS

Village aristocracy. In Topzawa the baking of bread takes place about three times weekly in the home's earth oven. This is attended to by three women at a time, mother, daughter and servant girl, or mother, daughter and a neighbour, who in addition also did her own baking in order to utilize the oven's capacity.

Goats, sheep and cows are milked by mother and daughter so long as the cattle return home in the evening. When, in the summer, the sheep and goats are handed over to the care of the village shepherd, the servant girl goes out to the mountains twice a day, at about 11 a.m. and 5 p.m., with the other women of the village to meet the shepherd and his charges. *Mâst* is made daily in the home. Butter is churned every morning. The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the cookhouse or on a beam

Fig. 38. Woman crouching before the fire. Topzawa.

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The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the cookhouse or on a beam in the wall just outside the way down to it. The dog sack is hung up in the door opening; later in the summer the supply for drinking runs out and water is drunk. Sacks with *mast* for cheese cake are hung up out of doors. The daily production of butter is stored in the storeroom. Butter is only used for cooking. The making of tea is always done by the daughter of the house, but in exceptional cases a young male relative may assist. Extra supplies of meat, cucumber and vegetables may be brought in by the men or sent by the local bus from Sulaimani.

Cooking is performed by the daughter of the home, but the food is prepared by the mother. Mother and daughter go out into the mountains together to pluck vine leaves in the vineyards of the house, and go together into the kitchen garden in front of the house to fetch vegetables (Topzawa). The daughters-in-law of the house go to the fruit garden to pick figs (Serkan). Water is found within the precincts of the house (Topzawa, Sargalu).

Water is fetched by the children or the servant girl. At Mirza Rustam it is fetched from the river by donkey and then emptied into petrol cans in the courtyard.

The collection of fuel in the mountains is performed by the maid servant of the house who has with her an axe with a crescent-shaped blade, and a donkey. Charcoal is fetched by men with donkeys (Topzawa). Washing-up is done by the servants. These can be either male (Sargalu, Serkan) or female.

The washing of clothes is done by the women of the house assisted by the servants—the same applies to ironing. Cleaning and bed-making is performed by all the women of the house in association.

To sum up: the activities that take place within the area of the house and those in its immediate neighbourhood, that is to say the kitchen garden, the orchard, vineyard etc. are attended to by the adult women of the village aristocracy assisted by the children and servants available, the work being distributed as in Europe.

The activities taking place outside the precincts of the home, such as milking the sheep and goats in the care of the village shepherd, are attended to by the servants of the house.

The ordinary village milieu. The baking of bread in the earth oven is undertaken simultaneously by several women from different homes. The earth oven can be placed outside the house. At Mirza Rustam there was one on an open space between the houses. In Balkha and other places where iron sheets were used instead of ovens, baking was done at home by the individual housewife alone.

The treatment of milk. The women go out into the mountains or to the mulberry plantations twice during the day to meet the shepherd. In Balkha the women took turns in giving each other the due quantity of milk. Churning was done in each home, the churning sack being suspended from a frame outside the house.

The making of tea could either be undertaken by women or by men.

Water was fetched in clay jars, petrol tins and goatskins from common water-basins far from the houses by women. It could be a constant and troublesome affair as at Balkha, where 3-4 goatskins had to be transported from the valley up to the village, the necessary water supply for 4-5 persons, or as in Mirza Rustam when water in petrol tins must be fetched from the river over 800 paces from the village houses.

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the cloak is purchased ready-made in the city. At home the woman sews in a tuck along the transverse seam. This tuck is narrowest behind and in front, but broader at the side. This adjusts the garment to her height and stops it trailing at the sides. The cloak is lifted over the head, outside the veil, and assembled round the body, the woman's hands from inside grasping the front edges. The garment covers the woman's body from brow to feet, completely hiding the dress below it.

Loans from Western culture. Long nightgown with puffed sleeves and sometimes an appurtenant jacket both of rose silk. Is used as home dress. Is sewn at home or bought ready-made. Evening dresses and summer dresses, knee-high of a style illustrated in fashion journals during the summer of 1957. Either purchased ready-made or made at home in the form of complete dresses or blouses and skirts. Wedding dress of white satin, long with long arms, embroidered with spangles. Bought ready-made in Baghdad.

Distribution of the elements of woman's dress. Within the four female environments dress schemes were composed of elements of all three groups: the specially Kurdish, the Islamic, and the dress loans from the West. These dress schemes varied additionally in the case of unmarried and married women.

Village aristocracy. The dress consists of the following Kurdish elements: trousers, shift or petticoat, gown or kirtle, waistcoat, jacket, caftan and head veil, the last always white for an unmarried woman, and, for married women, also skull cap, neck veil, shoulder cloth, turban cloth and brow cloth worn under the head veil. At home the married woman often dispenses with the last mentioned articles of dress. The materials are velvet, brocade, chiffon, voile and artificial silk. In addition, exceptionally, coarse silk tulle for the kirtle interwoven with metal thread, and painted nylon from Japan. All imported goods come from Europe, particularly France, from Syria and from Japan.

It is typical of the dress scheme that more or less clothes are worn to suit the temperature, but that there is no set costume that varies according to the occasion. A woman of the village aristocracy in the sheikh's home in Topzawa rolled out dough and baked in verdigris-green brocade trousers, satin petticoat of the same colour, and black tulle kirtle with patches of gold thread. She milked the goats clad in similarly magnificent materials. The best clothes were the newest and least worn. As mentioned earlier (p. 37) women do not undress to go to bed, but sleep with all their clothes on, their heads swathed in a cloth. The sole articles of clothing not worn in bed are the turban, the neck-shoulder cloth and brow cloth, that is to say the parts of dress connected with the turban. Kirtle, shift and trousers could be washed and sometimes were, but the character of the dress does not make it imperative that it should be newly-washed or ironed. Cleanliness in regard to dress was non-existent. We must return to European periods like the Baroque and Rococo to find a similar dress effect based on magnificent material, which retained its splendour despite use, and the fact that no attempt was made to clean it, which latter would be considered essential in modern Europe. The long, wide trousers were always worn under the kirtle, the shift also. Only the padded outer pieces of clothing were put on or taken off in colder or warmer weather.

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Fig. 62. Village aristocracy. Married woman's dress, front and back. Topzawa.

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The clothing elements connected with Islam: the black face veil and the black *abā*, do not enter into the dress scheme of the village aristocracy within the village area, but become obligatory when transferring from a village to an urban milieu, visiting, say, Sulaimani or places further distant like Kirkuk and Mosul.

The ordinary peasant environment. Here also dress consists of the specially Kurdish elements, that is a trouser-kirtle outfit with a head veil only for the unmarried woman and the turban and its accessories for the married. (In the provincial town of Halabja *no* turban, but the whole skull cap covered with silver coins (E. 2352) and from it a neck and shoulder veil). The difference between the dress of the village aristocracy and the plain peasant woman did not lie in the form or number of the garments but in their colour and material. The clothing of the peasant women was mainly composed of flowered cotton material of strong, dark colours. Whereas the head cloths in villages like Topzawa and Rakawa are mainly white, sometimes turquoise, the predominant colour in the village of Serkan is vermilion, and in Mirza Rustam black, *rang nīl*, and dark colours. Here the turban arrangement is particularly large and the crown of the cap is covered by a big silver sheet[21]. During work at Topzawa the lower

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Turkish women and the Armenian costume with apron, respectively. Kurdish female dress is most closely paralleled by the older form of Persian women's costume (cf. E. 1474). According to Bishop (1891, I, 216) the ladies costume in Persia has undergone a great change in the last ninety years, that is since about 1800. The later type of Persian female dress with narrow trousers and "holler" shirt is a quite different type (cf. E. 2233).

The Lurs in Iran, visited and described by Fellberg, have the same type of trousers-kirtel-caftan costume, with a turban like the Kurdish, though the trousers are narrower and less visible than those of the Kurdish costume in Iraq (cf. Fellberg 1952, 119, 121, figs. 111, 112, 114).

Elements of woman's dress and their distribution.

Groups	Elements	Village aristocracy		Peasant women		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
		unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
I	Trousers, shift, kirtle, waistcoat, jacket, and caftan	×	×	×	×	(×)	(×)	×	×
II	Cap, neck cloth, shoulder cloth, turban, and brow cloth		×		×		(×)		×
III	Head cloth	×	×	×	×	(×)	(×)	×	×
IV	Sash or belt	(×)	(×)	(×)	(×)	×	×	(×)	(×)
V	Footwear	(×)	×			×	×	(×)	(×)
VI	Face veil *abd*	(×)	(×)	(×)	(×)	×	×	×	×
VII	Cotton material			×	×			×	×
VIII	Silk, artificial silk, and brocade	×	×		(×)	×	×		
IX	Dress changes					×	×		
X	European garments					×	×		

×: The element appears constantly everywhere.
(×): The element appears sporadically.
I: Is used in all environments by both unmarried and married. However, is not constant in the educated urban milieu.
II: Is the head dress of the married woman in all environments. Not constant in the educated urban milieu.
III: Is supplementary to the headdress of the married woman and constitutes the sole headdress of the unmarried girl. Not constant in the educated urban milieu.
IV: Only constant in the educated urban milieu.
V: Not constant in the village aristocratic milieu or in the uneducated urban milieu. Completely lacking in the humble village milieu.
VI: Street dress in the two urban environments and worn by village women when away from the village.
VII: Used mainly in the common village and uneducated urban environments.
VIII: Silk-brocade is characteristic of the village aristocracy and educated urban environments. Can on occasion be met with among married women in the humble village milieu.
IX-X: Dress changes characteristic of the educated urban milieu such as European frocks.

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593 178 effort of the daughters is removed from the home, an inhuman labour is involved for the wives remaining behind. The distribution of work between the various generations of women in the home, where the younger waited on the elder, is thus destroyed and replaced by its converse. Also dissolved is the stable family hierarchy still to be found in the villages, where the children from quite a young age take their due places, their duties increasing with age, a system based on the serving of the elder by the younger, the boys by the girls.

858 Bishop[77] says that it is regrettable that Iranian children have no childhood. Longrigg and Stoakes[78] remark that childhood in Iran is no definite age, but rather a matter of whether or not one is regarded as adult. Accordingly, the time until the child became a small adult with responsibility was made as short as possible.

080 In my opinion our culture and form of schooling places a far heavier burden on our children than is the case among the Kurds. We isolate children from adults, both in regard to work and leisure, in order that later they shall be able to honour the big demands made upon them by an industrialised society. As a result the home becomes a type of service station, where everything is arranged for the child to be able to attend to its schooling as well as possible in order to be equipped for the severe competition facing it later on. The home does not become a place where the child becomes a member of a small community, possessing its definite position and duties, which gives a far earlier and greater maturity than that provided by any amount of school attendance.

871 182 Among the Kurds it also appeared as though schooling was doing away with piety, and the younger generation in Sulaimani seemed to regard religion and what goes with it from an historical angle. None of the school-taught young men or women took part in daily prayers. Islam's heavy religious demands on daily life would seem to be incompatible with attendance at school. But what can be

The position of the child in and outside the home.

[857] [369] [565] [562]

Activities	I Village Aristocracy		II Peasants		III Educated milieu		IV Uneducated milieu	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Work at home	×		×		×		×	
Work outside home			×	×				
Schooling		×			×	×	×	×
Street life		×		×		×		×

Common to girls in all four female environments is assistance in the house according to age, whereby the girl acquires the necessary training in domestic activities. For the bigger girls also the charge of their smaller brothers and sisters, thus obtaining the required knowledge of child care.

In the case of girls of the humble village milieu, also help to the adult women in work outside the home, milking, fetching of water etc. For girls in an urban milieu, both educated and uneducated, also school attendance.

The common feature of the boys training is the "street education", life with men outside the home. In a village milieu they take part in the men's agricultural activities, particularly the guarding of sheep and goats and the collection of fodder. In an aristocratic village milieu the boys are sent away to school in towns like Sulaimani and Kirkuk. In the two urban environments the boys attend local schools. Among the peasants the boy only attends school should there be a preparatory school in the village, and to the extent that his work in the fields can be dispensed with.

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ceremony make her his wife again within the above-mentioned period[163]. Should he have pronounced *talâq* three times or have stated it thrice on the first occasion, the wife must contract a pro forma marriage with another man and must be renounced by this "straw husband" before the husband can take her back[164]. The Coran forbids the promise of abstinence, or if you will, a semi-divorce within marriage, that is to say, that the husband declares: "Let thy back be to me as my mother's", known as *zihâr* (*zahr* = back)[165]. In this case the wife will not obtain the right to return to her family home with everything she brought into the marriage, plus what she may herself have earned and that part of the bride price (usually one third) that has been put aside for such a contingency, and with a view to facilitating a new marriage.

On her side the wife has the following possibilities of securing the dissolution of the marriage: The marriage contract can contain a clause to the effect that neglect on the part of the husband gives the wife the right to regard the marriage as dissolved, by repaying the bride price, if she can prove before a judge that the man does not fulfil his obligations in regard to maintaining her in accordance with her station; in cases of certain illnesses or if it should transpire that he is of poorer birth than stated.

On contracting marriage the husband undertakes to provide for the wife; she in return engages to present him with children, which means that the children born belong to the man's home. If the marriage is dissolved whilst the children are small, the wife takes with her male children under two years of age[166], girls under nine (or up to puberty), whereafter they return to the husband's home. On marriage, therefore, the woman runs the risk of being renounced (attempts being made to reduce this by the fixing of a high bride price, and particularly by making as high as possible that part of it set aside for possible later payment); she also runs the risk of sharing the man with another wife or more. The husband runs a risk that the wife the women of his family have selected for him, whom in most cases he has never seen, is impossible to live with. To meet this contingency he has the immediate right to divorce her and also the right to take other wives.

Having briefly recounted the ordinary rules of Islam within the *shafi'i* rite to which the Kurds belong, I shall now attempt to recount what I experienced during my relatively short stay in Southern Kurdistan in order to throw light on matters concerning divorce and polygamy. I take these two phenomena together for, as will appear below, they are interwoven, and the one is often the reason for the other.

At the time I was able to study the conditions, there was in each of the three or four homes of the village aristocracy that constitute my material for comparison, only one wife. This happened to be so in the case of the sheikh families in Topzawa, Sargalu, Shadala and Serkan. Soane[167] states that the Kurds from north to south are monogamous, an assertion repeated by his wife[168]. This does not quite accord with my experience. In Topzawa the current wife had five children aged 18, 17, 13, 8 and 6. In the home there was also a step-daughter of 12. As illegitimate children are unknown in the Kurdish pattern of life, the sheikh, within a period lying between 1938 and 1945, has had two wives for a shorter or longer period, and the one who only presented him with one child was sent home to her parents.

The sister of the present one, about 35 years of age, was married to an old sheikh in Shadala. There appears here to have been a *succession* of marriages. Several groups of married sons with wives and

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565 595 [586] children living in the home showed that there must have been other wives. The sheikh himself stated that in his long life he had been married nineteen times! This can be compared with a statement by Hay[169] about "Old Ibrahim, Agha of the Dizay", who, 70 years old, had had nineteen wives. So far as I could discover the position was the same as that reported by Lane[170]: "Hence it often happens that, when a man who has already one wife wishes to marry another girl or woman, the father of the latter, or the female herself who is sought in marriage, will not consent to the union unless the first wife be previously divorced". But even if the man divorces his current wife to conform to the wishes of his new wife or her family, the children remain in the paternal home, which, when they marry, the sons extend to a joint family household.

587 595 Two half-grown 13–14 year old step-daughters with the sheikh of Sargalu marked the existence of an earlier marriage, as did the presence at home of three married sons of the sheikh in Serkan. Of this family it was said that not only the sheikh but also his wife had been married before, she being the widow of his brother—thus a case of levirate marriage. Among the village aristocracy I thus was able to determine divorces, successions of marriages, and children of former marriages remaining in the home, but in this milieu I did not meet several wives simultaneously in the home.

595 369 In the humble village milieu it seemed that monogamy was the more usual, probably for economic reasons. On the other hand I met here two cases of women who, taking with them their small children —a boy of 2 and a girl of 4 in Topzawa, and a male baby and girl of 5, both of whom later died, in Serkan—had left their husbands who had failed in their obligations in regard to maintaining them. They had been taken on as domestic help[171] at the sheikh's homes in Topzawa and Serkan. Thus the women had not returned to their families. A repudiated wife with a boy of about 2 in the humble village milieu in Balkha was said to live with and be supported by her family.

595 [586] In the educated urban milieu I met a newly-married teacher couple (seen each other before marriage), and a teacher couple with two children (never seen each other before marriage). The latter were monogamous, as was the case with the former, and a very high sum was stated to be put aside for the young woman in the event of divorce (or widowhood).

595 565 [963] There remain conditions in what is called the uneducated urban milieu or, if one prefers it, the old-fashioned urban milieu which still retains its original structure devoid of Western influence. The milieu of this kind that I learned to know possessed a good economic basis and was represented by small traders in Sulaimani and Kirkuk, who acted as agents for Baghdad firms dealing in electrical articles, bycycles and spare parts for automobiles. From the point of view of trade they represented the new times, but the structure of their homes evinced the old. Here I met polygamy functioning and could observe its effects on daily life, in the arrangement of the home, the distribution of the man's interest in regard to the wives, relations with the other's children, and the distribution of work within the women's world of the home. There were only two wives. One thing is the permission given by the Coran to possess up to four wives simultaneously, another thing is practice—which presupposes— when these four are augmented by female slaves, also permitted by the Coran—both unlimited wealth and unlimited room, and was consequently very definitely an upper class phenomenon, reserved to

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the highest and richest in the present Arab countries and Turkey, until Kemal Atatürk and the revolution in the 1920s.

In the home I stayed in at Kirkuk the order that both wives should be treated in the same way: was punctually fulfilled. The wives lived in two dwellings[172] which were the reflection of each other, each consisting of bedroom and a reception room divided by a corridor that led from the entrance door to the vine-covered courtyard. In each house this courtyard was surrounded by cookhouse, latrine, bathroom, etc. Cement steps led up to a flat roof. The two dwellings were built together, into one house, but with separate entrances from the street. There was no connexion within between the two women's domains. The women were of about the same age, about 35, and childless (abortion, operations etc.). Both had been sent separately on a pilgrimage. Their house furniture was identical. The husband attended to the daily household purchases, and took it in turn to spend a day and a night with each, that is to say as much of that period as a man spends in his home, which in this case meant the morning and evening meal, plus the night. The women visited each other, but led, or at all events could lead, an existence quite independent of each other. My main impression was that it was two women's houses I visited, where a man alternately paid a visit—not what one imagines in connexion with a man's house with two wives.

The other home also with two wives was that of my interpreter in Sulaimani. Here there was a divorce history, with complete information concerning the acquisition of a new wife. The elder wife in 1957 was in the middle fifties. It was difficult to obtain accurate particulars about age, as women only reckoned with before or after the change of life. She had passed her climacteric. The eldest living child was 26. The younger wife was in the end of the thirties; her eldest child was 19. The father had been out in a village as a trader, seen the young woman and asked her family if he might have her to wife. However, this was not done until he had conferred with his first wife, whom he had promised that the new wife would help in the house where the two women were to live together with the small children of the first wife. However, the two women had not got on well together. The first or elder wife had been returned to her home with all her effects, but leaving behind three children who were over 6–7 years of age. When they had reached maturity they had demanded that the father should take back their mother. This had been done after she had, as the law demands, gone through a pro forma marriage with another man and been repudiated by him. My interpreter told me, however, that her father did not live with her mother, but as at the time I was there she was in the mid fifties this was not of immediate importance. How was daily life between the two wives now? On family visits during *qurbān bairām* the husband took both his wives. Wife No. 2 conducted the marriage negotiations for the son of No. 1 wife. Wife No. 1 rocked the cradle and looked after No. 2's last-born child, an infant 4 months old. The newly-married daughter of No. 1 paid a visit to the home in mourning clothes (that is to say devoid of ornaments) when the baby of No. 2 died. My interpreter, who was a daughter of No. 1 treated her small half-sisters with the same care, both sentimentally and economically (in regard to the purchase of footwear, gifts and children's clothing in Baghdad), as she showed to her adult brother and sister. When the daughter of No. 1 was to be married and the women of the family were planning the future life of the young couple as a pair of teachers in one of the villages, it was suggested that the bride's mother, that is the elder wife, should move out and give her daughter

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

595 565 a hand with the housework, look after her future children, and keep her company when the husband, as is the custom in Islamic areas, spent a large part of the day in company with other men. This arrangement, I was told, was purely due to practical considerations. The presence of the second, younger wife in the home in Sulaimani with her nine children (one, a daughter, was married), who with the three adult children of the elder wife, plus the husband, brought the size of the family up to 14. All the girls over a certain age had, as opposed to their mothers, gone over to an educated milieu away from the home, and left behind a colossal burden of work, particularly in the winter, in the form of cooking, baking, washing, etc., for the two wives at home. This burden was equally divided between the two wives, which was too much for the elder. By moving out to the village with her newly-married daughter she would obtain a far easier life. In the home in Sulaimani it was apparently not possible for the one wife to leave an undue amount of work to the other; on the contrary they appeared to share it all loyally. The one making tea made it for the whole family, the one cooking or washing clothes did the same. Similarly, the two wives certainly seemed to share the daily work in the house, and their children showed equal affection for both mother and stepmother.

595 586 In this case, then, the husband had seen in a village a beautiful, stronglimbed girl with whom, to use a European term, he fell in love; showing due consideration for his first wife he had made her his second. The divorce here was due to the fact that the two women could not agree.

A young wife with two quite small children, who was returned to her family by the husband, was quoted as an example of incompatibility of temperaments. The husband was much older and very wealthy, but, it was said, incredibly miserly, and the wife refused to submit to this. Before I left I heard that the man had regretted his repudiation which apparently had not been triple and final. He now wanted her to return before the expiration of her *'idda*-period.

A man of my interpreter's family, a half-brother of her stepmother, was married to a woman of about 25, who since she was married to him (at the age of 11), had borne him four daughters, two of whom (7 and 2) had survived. As all the children had been female, and under pressure from friends and neighbours, he was seeking a second wife who would, he hoped, be able to bear him sons. Three times marriage negotiations had been initiated on his behalf but for various reasons had broken down. The man was now at the end of the thirties. His wife appeared to be reduced to despair by the situation; and it would be difficult for the new wife to cooperate with her; furthermore she faced the prospect of the new woman demanding her divorce before consenting to matrimony, or that, cooperation failing between the two wives, she would later be cast out.

595 565 369 To sum up: Polygamy exists among Kurds in the uneducated urban milieu, but the number of wives does not exceed two. Successive marriages, with children of earlier marriages as members of the family, exist among the village aristocracy. Monogamy prevailed in the humble village milieu, perhaps mainly for economic reasons. Monogamy also prevailed in the educated urban milieu.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER V

WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ISLAM

As we know, the five pillars of Islam are: The confession of faith, the five daily eulogies of Allah, generally known as the five daily "prayers", the duty to give alms, the fast in the 9th month, and the pilgrimage to Mecca undertaken in the 12th month of the Muslim lunar year[1].

Whereas the confession of faith is not dealt with in the law books of Islam, the other four pillars, coupled with the necessary ritual purity when reciting the daily prayers, form the five religious acts or pious exercises that comprise the actual cult of Islam.

What place has this cult in the life of the Kurdish woman?

With the nymphs of Paradise, houris, awaiting the faithful in Paradise—an idea that only appears at the beginning of Muhammed's revelations[2] and is later dropped[3]—the Islamic woman, in our Western conception, is to some extent excluded from the religious life of Islam. The same impression is gained by a visit to a mosque. Whereas in our Western culture, most of the congregation that assembles in church on Sunday—the only day devoted by us to religion—are women, few women are seen in Islam's ever-open, carpeted, silent house of prayer, the mosque. When women go there it is only within a definite area barred by a low railing at the far end of the building.

If without access to a Muslim home, one therefore gains the impression that in Islam a life of piety is a matter for the men, yet it is only at the Friday midday prayer that men congregate in the mosque to any great extent. The men who visit the mosque daily and at several of the five daily prayer times, are those who in their homes or at their places of work have insufficient room and quiet to pray and to perform the prior, ordained ritual washing. Most other men say their prayers in their homes, their booths, or at their place of business[3]. Kurdish women were found to possess a warm and living interest in their religion, but their piety is exercised within the home.

Among the women of the village aristocracy in Topzawa, the five daily prayer periods were observed with the utmost devotion.

The midday prayer that begins the day was observed individually—not like the others, in concert—by the two adult women in the house and the 17 year old daughter shortly after noon and for up to one hour later. The prayer rug, *Admal*, (E. 2254) of goat's wool, rectangular in form, 1.60 × 1.16 m. in size, woven in grey and brown natural-coloured yarn, wedge patterned, was placed on the floor in the three-walled room, the axis of which was orientated towards Mekka. The women tied the sa

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

pious exercises, which in the evenings alternated with those of the men within the periods of the sunset and evening prayers.

The youngest girl I saw engaged in prayer was 17 years old; the 8–12 years old I did not see pray. The humble village woman said her prayers at the places where she fetched water, where there was an opportunity to perform the small ablution. This consisted of washing the face, water being conveyed to the face in the hollow of the hands and then wiped off again by a descending motion of the palms to avoid splashing the clothes; the hands and forearms are then washed, the wet right hand being passed over the hair as a symbolical washing of the whole head. The ablution is concluded by washing the feet. At the same time the woman has as a rule first used the water basin, or the outflow of the spring from the watering place, as a latrine with subsequent washing of the private parts, so that, both physically and ritually clean, she can step onto the large flat stone, usually to be found at watering places, intended as a substitute for the prayer rug and of about the same size.

The women in the educated urban milieu of Sulaimani did not pray. I only came across one exception to this: my interpreter's younger sister, who was to marry into a family where the women belonged to the uneducated milieu, though the coming husband, like herself, was a trained school teacher, prayed industriously—at all events in the time preceding her wedding.

Among the uneducated women of Sulaimani one met piety and punctual religious observance, at all events in regard to the afternoon, sunset and evening prayers. At an evening party the prayer rug could be lent to guests, opportunity provided for ablution, and then respect accorded to the devotions of those involved. I noticed also that the women of the village aristocracy at Topzawa were afforded the same facilities during their visit to an Iraqi engineer living in one of the houses at the Dokan Dam Site. Here guests performed the ritual ablutions in a European bath room supplied with hot and cold water. However, this was not as convenient as the garden basin at home in the village. The prayer carpet was then spread out on the parquet floor of the bedroom, which on that day acted as dining, living and midday rest room for the women of the company, the living and dining rooms of the house being used as guest house by the men. The duty to give alms, I saw practised in the aristocratic village home at Topzawa. Two beggars, the younger of whom, being blind, was led by his hand being placed on the shoulder of the other, both had sugar and flour poured into their begging bags, which they carried either in the waistband or over the shoulder. Two invalid women were given articles from the family's ample wardrobe before continuing on crutches their wanderings from village to village. The women in the sheikh's home, mother and grown-up daughter, were apparently not subjected to any restriction in regard to the fulfilment of this duty, which constitutes the Islam's third pillar, even though the men of the house, the sheikh and his younger brother, who also lived in the house, were away.

The result of this obligatory giving of alms in Sulaimani is that permanently-stationed beggars are able to exist on the charity of the men in the street. With a child lying in her lap a veiled woman sat on the ground like a black cone at the entrance to the mosque in the hope of benefiting from the sense of duty of passers-by. In the courtyard of the mosque itself, a feebleminded girl was deposited every day by her parents in what looked like a European perambulator, with a bowl between her deformed hands. It was said that although there was a public institution for both the classes of beggars mentioned, they were able to manage better on the alms obligation ordained by the Coran than they would if they

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

normally the case when the funnel-shaped cuffs are tied together and thrown over the shoulder. The two women in question had brought back with them coloured oleographs of the holy places, to be hung up in the home, and coloured silk scarves for friends and relations.

Whereas it was in the uneducated urban milieu that I met women who had undertaken the ordained pilgrimage, I had in Sulaimani an opportunity to follow in a mixed educated and uneducated urban milieu the feast days in the twelfth month of the year, which are celebrated in the homes whilst pilgrims are engaged in the visit and the ceremonies at Mecca connected with it, four days around the 10th *du-l-hijja* namely 9–12, which in 1957 were Monday 8th July to Thursday 11th July.

Pilgrims arrived at Mecca as early as Saturday the 7th (6th July 1957), and by entering the holy area, assumed a state of continence and religious dedication. This is marked by the fact that the men put on two untailored draperies, a shoulder cloth and a loin cloth. Dickson[13] states that the colour for men is white, whilst women's dress on this occasion must be green. Women must not be veiled[14].

On this day the Mecca pilgrim performs the seven-fold encirclement of the *ka'ba*, the carpet-covered, cubic "Allah's house", originally a heathen sanctuary, the corners of which are orientated to the four cardinal points of the compass. The encirclements, three of which must be performed running, begin at the black stone, the *ka'ba* being to the left, on the side of the heart. The black stone must be kissed or touched. Then comes prayer. The pilgrims now visit the holy spring, *Zamzam*, which gushed forth, a miracle, to refresh Hagar's son Ismael when he was dying of thirst. The seven-fold course between the two low hills, *Safā* and *Marwa* is performed in remembrance of Hagar, who here ran desperately back and forth, calling to heaven for water for her dying son, after she at the instance of Sara had been sent into the desert by Abraham. The course is finished by hair-cutting at *Marwa*, where the women sacrifice the tips of their plaits.

I had no opportunity of seeing whether there was anything in the families in the homeland that corresponded to the days' ceremonies at Mecca. A meal was given in the middle of the day in my interpreter's home; other guests should have been present, but were unable to come. This, however, had no special connexion with the pilgrimage.

The following day, Sunday the 8th (7th July 1957) pilgrims leave Mecca on a four-hour camel ride to the plateau 'Arafāt which they reach in the evening. It is recommended that the family in the homeland should fast on that day, but this is seldom observed. In my interpreter's home at Sulaimani, as in other homes, a special kind of nut cakes were baked, which were served on the day after, when visits were paid. These cakes were made in spoon-shaped, dual, wooden moulds, grooved inside. The dough was patted into a flat disc, which was laid in the one half of the mould. A filling of chopped almonds, sugar and raisins was laid on top and the dough folded over it before the other half was laid on top like a lid, pressing the cake into shape.

Monday the 9th (8th July 1957) the pilgrims spend in meditation on the plateau. It is recommended that a fast be observed in the homeland, but it rarely is. In Kurdistan it was Children's Day. Children in hundreds swarmed all over Sulaimani in new, miniature editions of adult clothing. The flock of children was composed of boys and girls from 5–6 up to 11 years of age. Swings had been set up on the outskirts of the town. However, the main purpose, for which they had been given pocket money, was to drive round in open carriages which that day were available for hire by groups of children. A

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

795 831 word a mixture of indecency and perversion, violently opposed to Islam. For many years the Arab authorities were alarmed by rumours that the Haqqa sect among Kurds was increasing in influence and, centred on Sargalu, was penetrating into neighbouring regions despite the fact that the "teachers", and their "pupils", were repeatedly summoned to Sulaimani for interrogation.

It thus seems that under the influence of neo-platonic ideas the metaphysical speculations of Sufism have at times led to pantheism and doctrines contrary to Islamic law. This has exercised a certain influence on Kurds with whom I dwelt. It is a matter for a religious historian to enlarge upon. I merely point to its existence.

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791 789 *Superstition and witchcraft.* Mention has already been made of features that can be traced back to superstition and sorcery: the sugar strewn over the bride's pieces of clothing before sewing (p. 126), the blow on the bride's head, the fowl released over her on her arrival at the bridal house (p. 130, 131), and the lump of honey laid in a piece of folded bread and then placed under the mattress on which she will sit on arrival (p. 130). The killing of a fowl on the death of a child has also been referred to (p. 142). I shall now discuss the use of amulets, both the visible and encased varieties, the importance attached to reproductions of the holy hand, visits to saints' graves, and finally, the existence of rag trees and rag poles among the Kurds, and the sacrifice of animals as a healing ceremony.

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789 565 *Amulets.* In Southern Kurdistan these were to be found among women in the aristocratic village milieu, in the humble village milieu and in the uneducated urban milieu. They were not used within the educated urban milieu.

Amulets are supposed to protect against *jinns*, devils created by fire[24], and to avert the evil eye.

789 They were of two kinds: visible and encased. The first type consists of a kind of ornament and is therefore difficult to distinguish from jewellery without magical qualities. They could be purchased in the bazar and were thus a commercial commodity which in virtue of their colour, form and material contained a latent force that could protect their owners from all evil. In Kurdistan both dead objects and living beings could have these magic objects hung upon them.

301 789 A chain of large blue glass-beads was hung around the neck of a horse (Serkan); a blue button was hung on a churning frame (Topzawa); and a blue button was fastened to a Singer sewing machine (Kirkuk). This was done to protect the animal, and the products made by the objects, from evil [822] influence. It has often been pointed out that blue affords protection against the evil eye[25].

The same blue colour is found in the small articles to be worn by children. A necklet (E. 2287a), 789 0.28 m. long, for a baby is composed of black and white glass beads in which is hung a light-blue 858 button and two small plastic reproductions of the holy hand[26], the one red and the other blue. In 301 addition, buttons (E. 2287b-c) for sewing on children's clothes[27] and a scorpion (E. 2287d) made of light-blue glass beads, also intended for sewing on children's clothes. Finally, a silver chain is meant to be worn diagonally across the chest from the left shoulder[28]. The chain (E. 2301) was acquired in

nerated ... the credulous ... tie rags and strings to its branches, and at the same time they make a request and take a vow that they will perform some meritorious act if the request is granted."

In order that the promise shall not be rendered valueless, the rags must "être sans couture" is mentioned by Massé[62].

Concerning the custom of tying rags to the branches of trees in the vicinity of sheikhs' and saints' graves, Nikitine[63] writes: "... tant qu'il reste attaché là, ce chiffon est garant des prières du saint", and approaches the idea, also verbally mentioned by Feilberg, that there may be a parallel between these hung-up rags and the waving wooden shavings of the Ainu, indeed, with the idea behind the praying wheels of the Mongols and other Lamaistic Buddhists.

There can be little doubt that the rag tree is an old heathen survival. This view is expressed by Maunsell[64], Østrup[65], Feilberg[66] and Soane[67], Østrup[68], who has seen rag trees in the Taurus Mountains of Turkey, believes that in this custom we find crippled remnants of the ancient resurrection ceremony that is still preserved in its entirety by a few Indian tribes.

The sacrifice of animals as a means of promoting health was referred to by my interpreter. She intended in due course to sacrifice a sheep in order that her 6 year old brother's broken and badly-set leg might improve when she took him next to the doctor, possibly in Baghdad.

Items:	Village elsewhere	Hamlet Village	Educated urban	Uneducated urban
Visible amulets	+-	+		+
Encased amulets	+	+		+
Holy bread	+	+		
Saints' grave			+	+
Rag tree	+			+
Rag poles	+			+

4: Rhineen B-5 (1957) . 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

CONCLUSION

WOMAN'S POSITION IN THE COMMUNITY

As mentioned (p. 60) members of male travellers[1] have made statements about the position of Kurdish women in society. With the exception of Fraser[2], who distinguishes between the urban upper class and the village dwellers, Kurdish women are referred to under one heading. However, even from the limited material available to me, it is evident that there are at all events four different environments, each with its own pattern (and this division ignores the nomads). Soane emphasizes that Kurdish women are "...as free as in any European country"[3], and Rambout declares that "... la femme est considérée chez les Kurdes comme l'égale de l'homme"[4]. Even though in the case of the Kurds we must consider ourselves faced by a variant of the Islamic cultural pattern less orthodox than in other Muslim areas, I would point out the risk of using the terms "free position" and "equality" as understood in the West when attempting an assessment of the position of Islamic, and in this case Kurdish, women. Freedom and equality are concepts that must be viewed on the background of the position of Western women when their struggle for changed conditions was in progress at the end of the previous century. These terms bear no relation to the status of Kurdish women at present.

In an attempt to explain the Kurdish women's position in the community I shall now deal with the various forms of veil and the use made of them, contact with the world around, women's possibility of movement, and the degree of seclusion. I shall discuss also the distribution of authority between man and woman in the home, and, finally, the degree of common life in the home. These elements will be investigated within the four female environments existing within the area visited in Southern Kurdistan.

ANALYSIS OF VEIL TYPES

The veil. Five different types of veils, each with its function, but differently distributed in the four female environments, were found to be in use. These were as follows: The triangular neck-shoulder veil, *dawnê*, the head veil, *sîrpê*, the yellow ochre "bridal" veil, the white European bridal veil, and the black face veil, *pêçê*.

The first type, really a shoulder cloth fastened by means of a loop to a coin sewn onto the crown of the cap, is included among the veils because its material, coarse tulle, interwoven with metal thread, of a green, rose or light-blue colour entitles it to be called a veil, and because its function was to hide the neck and pigtails of the married woman. It was an indispensable constituent of a married Kurdish woman's dress worn in its complete form. *The neck-shoulder veil* presupposed the presence of a cap, but not necessarily the use of a turban. At Halabja, for example, it was worn with a coin-covered cap

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Sure 24, verses 30-31 [11]. of the Coran are usually considered to form the religious basis for the complete veiling practised by Muslim women, supplemented by the recommendation, contained in Sure 33, verse 59, that the wives and daughters of the Faithful put on an over-garment when leaving the house in order that they shall be recognised as honest women. Sure 24, verses 30-31 runs: ("Say to the believing men that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts; that is purer for them; surely *Allah* is aware of what they do). And say to the believing women that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts and not display their ornaments except what appears thereof, and let them wear their headcoverings over their bosoms, and not display their ornaments except to their husbands, or their fathers, or the fathers of their husbands, or their sons, or the sons of their husbands, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or those whom their right hands possess, or the male servants not having need (of women), or the children who have not attained knowledge of what is hidden of women; and let them not strike their feet so that what they hide of their ornaments may be known; and turn to *Allah* all of you, O believers! so that you may be successful"[12].

It is maintained that the veiling of women was originally foreign to the Arabs and the prophet Muhammed[13], having been adopted by Islam after the prophet's death in 632 during the years of expansion in Syria and Mesopotamia. Here contact was made with the Hellenic-Byzantine empire where women led a secluded life, a custom preserved from ancient Greece. The veil was adopted as a mark of respectability as opposed to harlotry, and veiling was further extended, justifying this by reference to the two mentioned Sures of the Coran. By obtaining religious backing the veil and shawl or cowl, though varying somewhat in the different Islamic areas, became something quite different from any other clothing. It became a symbol of a religious idea and of a definite pattern of behaviour. By its anonymity, it gave women a liberty that no other dress could provide. It aroused a respect that can only be compared with that shown to a nun's habit. Unknown and unrecognisable, she in that dress represented something inviolate and protected. No man could demand to see the face hidden by the veil. Unseen, she was not only herself but also represented half the community, and in virtue of this she could demand consideration and the maintenance of certain privileges. She herself was able to see the one to whom she was speaking, but the reverse was not the case. Woodsmall[14] quotes various statements made by women who had been accustomed to wear, or still wore, the veil. An Islamic woman from Alexandria says: "A veil ... presents strange paradoxes. It is a restrictive emphasis on sex relationship, and also on moral protection; a sign of utter dependence and also of freedom from responsibility; a handicap to real progress and a symbol of special privilege. In a word the veil represents an entirely different social system. Discarding it, therefore, involves a whole change of psychology impossible for a Western woman to understand ... so entirely foreign to you and so much a part of us ...".

Over-garment and veil were in use in all four feminine environments in Southern Kurdistan, but to very different extents. The women of the village aristocracy did not wear them in daily life, but only when visiting a town (see p. 76). They then wore them from the moment of leaving home until they returned. For the women it was thus a sign that they were leaving a village milieu to enter an urban environment. The same applied to women of the humble village milieu. 'Many times in the city of Sulaimani I have been addressed by closely-veiled women, who, when they raised the veil, proved to

he residents of Tajsawa, where I never saw them veiled. Nor did I ever observe them using the head cloth or the sheets of the costume to cover the face even if there were male strangers in the vicinity, which Granqvist mentions as being a part of women's pattern of behaviour in Palestine[9].

On the other hand for both the educated and uneducated in the town the over-garment and veil was an indispensible part of women's dress outside the home. It was unthinkable that any woman in a town like Sebastiyeh or the smaller trading centre, Nablûs, could leave the home, shut off completely from the street, without taking with them its extension in the form of the abra-cyllî. These two articles of clothing were obligatory for every girl from the age of 13–14. One of the adolescent daughters in the home of my interpreter had reached this age without it being realized until her father caught sight of her one day, when, clad in a far too tight, washed-out and very obviously European summer dress, she was about to disappear through the street door, and at once sent one of the women in the house to the city to buy the necessary shirt and veil. The following day the girl had vanished forever from the town's street scene and an anonymous female figure appeared instead. Women of both the educated and uneducated urban milieu upheld the town practice of concealment when visiting villages. A sister of Sheikh Taffir of Tajsawa, a woman in her fifties, paid a long visit to her brother. She clad herself in shirt and veil in order to walk from Tajsawa to another village in the neighbourhood. As nobody in this crowding ever carried any burden, she was accompanied on this occasion by an 8 year old daughter of the house who walked behind her on the mountain's path carrying a bundle containing gifts. On the day I engaged her, my interpreter arrived at Tajsawa clearly veiled. She also brought with her by mule over the Chermahmoud pass her black over-garment, and managed in some remarkable way to get this around her, in the dusk, with a flock of sheep streaming past the legs of our riding animals like a dark flood, we entered the small village of Sarpeh nestling in a valley behind the mountains. She also sent her 13 year old brother, her invariable companion, back to the Sheikh's house at Tajsawa to fetch her over-garment and veil when, returning from a visit to the neighbouring village of Rakawa, we discovered that in our absence male guests had been received on the loggia of the guest house. Apart from that she did not wear shirt and veil after the first day in the village. Town women thus took with them and used on isolated occasions in the villages the veil and over-garment worn in an urban milieu.

Distribution of veil types inside the four villages.

Veil types	Village endogamic		Exogamic village		Nomadic tribe		Cosmopolitan milieu	
	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
Triangular mask + shoulder veil falls		+		+		(+)		+
Head cloth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ochre bridal veil		?		+				?
European white bridal veil						+		
Face veil black	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+

WOMAN'S POSSIBILITY OF MOVEMENT AND SECLUSION

possibility of movement or greater or lesser degree of seclusion. In the village aristocracy both the married and unmarried women left the area of the home but seldom. As an exception they could be the most distinguished guests at a village wedding. Here they remained in the women's group, strictly segregated from the men. There was no family in the village of equal birth on which they could pay calls. In this respect the women of the village aristocracy held a position similar to that of a lady of a royal family. Their domain comprised the rooms off the courtyard in which the house-work was performed and the roof. They could enter the guest house in order to clean, and could receive female guests there when the men were absent. Their area also extended to the kitchen garden and orchard if such existed in the neighbourhood of the home. On one occasion in Tegucwa the wife and daughter of the sheikh's house extended their radius of action to the vineyard up in the mountains in order to pluck fresh vine leaves for culinary purposes. The wife of the house, but not the daughter, went on a family visit to Sulaimani. Both women, with the sheikh and his brother, paid a call, by car, on an Iraqi engineer working with European colleagues on the Dokan Dam Site. This man lived in a stone house similar to those inhabited by Europeans. During the visit the women remained to themselves in the bedroom of the house, which that day acted as the harem, the women eating, drinking tea, and sleeping there in the afternoon.

In the village of Serkan the lady of the house and the wives of the men received my interpreter and me on the newly-built, detached guest house, which that day had been left to the women as a reception room. At the same time the men of the house were holding a meeting with the government representative of the Land Settlement Commission and a large number of peasants. For this male meeting a temporary open-air guest house had been arranged under some high trees near a spring behind the sheikh's property. Here the men took their meals, conducted their negotiations and spent the night on mattresses rolled out on the ground. During the morning, the representative of the Land Settlement Commission approached the women's apartments in order that I, as a European, could be introduced to his assistants. At the sight of this elderly man entering the women's apartments, the wife and daughters-in-law of the house sprang to their feet and fled as though for an outbreak of fire, assisted by a young husband present, over a narrow passage into a small store room. Similarly, although it had been decided, the lady of the house later cancelled a planned tour of the garden on the ground that there was a faint possibility of the men's party above mentioned being able to catch a glimpse of her face.

A proposal that the daughter of the sheikh at Tegucwa should accompany my interpreter, her 13 year old brother and me in a hired car and later cross the mountains by mule on a two-day visit to her own paternal uncle at Sergalu, was bluntly refused by the girl's father. The escort proposed was not considered adequate. This what we understood by seclusion was practised within the village aristocracy. Married women seldom left their homes, young girls practically never, and none of these even allow themselves to be seen by male strangers.

In the transition the following categories of men were permitted access to the family house within the village aristocracy: Firstly, and naturally, the men of the family, the husband, brothers-in-law,

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and some thoroughly distrust seclusion for their unmarried daughters. In addition the family's unmarried and 562
three-walled central room were open to men who were subordinates of the sheikh, economically 554
dependent on him, or of a status that could be compared with this. In Tepasawa this included the pea- 565
sants who ploughed and harvested the sheikh's fields and the drivers who drove the lorries he and his
brother had in their capacity of contractors for the construction work at Dokan Dam. The house 369
was also open to beggars and to sayyids. The sheikh families at Sargalu and Serkan had both men
and women servants. With the latter family there lived permanently a blind mullā[9], who occupied
the women's part of the house and who, it is true, ate with the women of the house but he was paid
by the sheikh and was thus a dependent. Men from the Gendarmerie, members of the Land Settlement
Commission, and Europeans were not admitted to the family house where women were. These men [609]
were strangers by whom the women must not be seen. It can therefore be said that though seclusion
is practised by the village aristocracy, it is in an elastic form that allowed definite categories of men,
dependents in one way or another, access to the women's domain. This elasticity may help to explain
the fact that Soane, disguised as a Persian merchant, and later, after the first World War, the British
officers of the Mandate period, could be received by Hekmja's first lady, Lady Ajdela, who after Osman
Pasha's death became the head of the family. That she regarded Soane, who took employment with
her son and of whose nationality she was unaware, as a subordinate there is no doubt. If she also
considered the British officers as subordinate compared with her own position as representative of
the town's most distinguished family, she would not by meeting them sacrifice any of her dignity or
step outside the framework of her seclusion.

My impression was that, in the aristocratic village milieu, seclusion was not so much the result of 562
an order from the men as a wish on the part of the women not to be seen by male strangers. 369
The elastic seclusion practised among the Kurds seemed to me to be far more like the British idea 609
of "my home is my castle" than a form of incarceration. In consequence I do not believe that a male
investigator is correct when writing that among the Kurds he visited in the Rowanduz district "... the
Kabyle consistently make a show of being very strict about the seclusion and veiling of their women-
folk when strangers are present while countrymen, if they bother at all, are lax and genial"[10]. In my
view it was the women themselves who felt the value of hindering male strangers from seeing them.

In support of this there is what a woman like Blackman says about conditions among the Egyptian 191
fellahin: "To our western ideas such restrictions are apt to be regarded as a form of tyranny, but it 562
is not a fair judgement. Seclusion is partly a sign of respect ... and indicates the value that the men 114
put upon their womenfolk"[11]. As a result it is naturally in women's own interest to maintain seclusion.
Incidentally, Lane reports of the Arab women in Egypt: "Still it might be imagined that the women
of the higher and middle classes feel themselves severely oppressed, and are much discontented with
the state of seclusion to which they are subjected; but this is not commonly the case; on the contrary,
an Egyptian wife who is attached to her husband is apt to think, if he allows her unusual liberty, that
he neglects her, and does not sufficiently love her, and to envy those wives who are kept and watched
with greater strictness."[12] Barnes points another similar aspect of conditions in India: "The Moham-
medan ladies of South India are very strictly secluded, and are proud of it. They look upon it as a
mark of respectful men, and are very contemptuous of women who are not taken care of in the same

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

way"[20]. As early as 1891 Garnett remarks that: "The seclusion of Moslem women, instead of being, as is generally assumed, a result of their "degraded position", is, on the contrary the outcome of the great respect and regard entertained for them by the men of their own nation."[21]

In the humble village milieu the activities of women: fetching water, participation in ploughing and harvesting and, sometimes, in the building of clay houses, the collection of manure and fuel, etc., brought them outside the area of their homes. Even in an elastic form the maintenance of seclusion was thus manifestly impossible, but it is worth noticing that no village woman from the twin villages of Topzawa and Rakawa, from which the Dokan Dam drew its Kurdish labourers, could be persuaded to take work as house assistants or nurses with the European families. Any sum would have been paid to obtain female help in these homes, but the Europeans had to be content with male servants.

A young British engineer who was taking a film in the two villages mentioned in order to provide local colour for another, larger film about the dam building, had no chance at all of taking the interior of the family house or the women in the sheikh's courtyard. Despite the elasticity of the seclusion obtaining within the village aristocracy, access for him was ruled out. He could only film the exteriors of village houses with peasant women on their way to and from their outdoor occupations. It was worthy of note that none of these women ever stopped or opened a conversation with him. As Woodsmall[22] says: "... although technically, unveiled the peasant woman in the Moslem world has very definitely the psychology of the veil". One single peasant home was opened to the young Englishman. The husband here did not work on the actual dam building, but in the office of the Dokan Dam Site, where he brewed tea and served it to Europeans all day long. In this way he had far more contact with the European milieu than his compatriots, and the fact that he allowed access to his home for the taking of a film must be viewed in that light.

To sum up the conditions among humble peasant women: Neither over-garment nor veil is worn. For practical reasons there was no possibility of maintaining seclusion. Village women's radius of action was not confined to the home, but comprised fields, watering places, workshops and fruit plantations. In consequence they possessed far greater freedom of movement than did their more aristocratic sisters. However, although technically unveiled and not subject to seclusion, a division between the men's and women's worlds is maintained outside the actual work; one never saw social contact between the two groups. At weddings men and women did not concort. They ate apart, and at those I witnessed the women took no part in the dancing. The men in the village danced several evenings running, the women hidden in the darkness, watching them from roofs in the vicinity.

As opposed to the village milieu, the women of the educated urban milieu have a school training behind them. In virtue of this they are able to enter the only two occupations open to Muslim women in Kurdistan: nursing or teaching. Through the former, whether at the Child Welfare Centre or as a visiting nurse calling at the various homes, the educated women in Sulaimani obtained a freedom of movement comparable to that enjoyed by humble village women. The same applied to those who chose for the teaching profession and worked at Sulaimani's only girl school, the Guiphs School for Girls, established in 1926.

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As regards being restricted geographically there was no seclusion for educated urban women, though in its "transportable" form seclusion existed, for the wearing of over-garment and veil was obligatory. Just as the geographical form of seclusion applying to the women of the village aristocracy was elastic, certain categories of males outside the immediate family circle being admitted to the women's domain, so also was the "transportable" seclusion, for the degree of veiling depended upon the man meeting the woman. If the man was a stranger, say the post-office clerk, bank teller, or bus driver, complete veiling was maintained. The men on their side accepted it as perfectly natural that women whom they served or bargained with were completely anonymous and, apart from the voice, unidentifiable. Before superiors, for example the educational authorities or officials like the mayor of the town, my interpreter pushed back her veil though at the same time holding the front edges of the over-garment which goes over the head, so closely together that only a small part of her face was visible. This was the case on more official visits, but also on ordinary visits the tightly-drawn *abd* and the pushed-back veil were retained. This I saw on a visit to Sheikh Mahmud's son. On this occasion my interpreter had decked herself out in all the finest articles of clothing and jewellery the women of her family could together produce. During the visit not the slightest glimpse of all this magnificence was disclosed. Perhaps this was due to the fact that, in addition to us, two male agricultural experts were present, who seemed to have come to discuss questions in connexion with the rice harvest that year.

When dealing with traders in the *sāq*, for example in the cloth booths in the vaulted arcades, the women also pushed back their veils. Here they apparently faced men in a position subordinate to them, and could allow themselves to show a small expanse of face through the closely-held *abd*.

In the Sulaimani cinemas, both the roofed and the roofless, it would have been quite unthinkable for the women, even though closely veiled, to sit in the ordinary seats. The men sat there. For the women and the men of their family who accompanied them there were boxes with special entrances and a curtain. This curtain was not drawn aside until the theatre was dark, and was again drawn at the *Interval*. Men in the audience must not obtain a glimpse of the women in the box.

In her outside life and during work the educated urban woman came into contact with the men's world. Sympathy between two young people might be aroused and a marriage based on personal contact and sentiment could result. However, there was no direct proposal on the part of the young man. The obligatory procedure was marriage negotiations between the women of the two families, followed by the matter being placed before the father for decision (see p. 119). Whereas the work of an educated urban woman provided her with a radius of action far outside the boundaries of the home, in non-working hours she was to be found in the precincts of the home. In leisure hours there were no mixed groups of men and women. Men, on the other hand, spent their free time in the streets or in tea houses in company with other men. Here again there was a strict division between the worlds of men and women.

Thus, like her humble village sister, the educated urban woman possessed a freedom of movement that extended just as far as, but no further than, her work outside the home justified, but, as opposed to the village woman, the educated urban woman practised a transportable seclusion in the form of *abd* and veil. This, like the seclusion of the aristocratic village woman, possessed a certain elasticity in regard to certain male categories.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

562 592 not "free", being subjected to an elastically-practised seclusion. Nor were they free to choose their spouse, but for that matter the men were here in no better case: both were subject to the decision of the family.

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555 562 462 As mentioned earlier, women's radius of action in the humble village milieu extended over the whole place, and consequently they had far greater freedom of movement than their aristocratic village sisters. On the other hand, so far as I could see, they were not so much the equals of their husbands as were their social superiors. Very heavy labours rested on their shoulders, work that kept them engaged from dawn until late in the evening: fetching water and fuel from afar, milking in the mountains, ploughing and harvesting, work in the fruit plantations. Within this environment one can say that there was a lack of equality and a distribution of authority in favour of the man, mainly because the uneven sharing of the work put the woman in an inferior position.

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562 369 In regard to the educated urban milieu in homes where both husband and wife were educated, a freedom of movement corresponding to that of humble village women existed in the case of the wife, that is to say as much as, but no more than, her work outside the home necessitated.

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562 369 592 Within the uneducated urban milieu there was no possibility of movement outside the home in connexion with work, and liberty of movement resulting from social activities, and the daily visits between women, was concealed by veil and over-garment. Within the home the husband had the say in regard to the persons entering and leaving the house. In my interpreter's home where the two wives belonged to the uneducated milieu, the husband forbad the summoning of a doctor during the influenza epidemic in the summer of 1957, and refused to allow several patients in the family being taken by cab to a doctor or hospital. It is difficult to say how strictly this injunction would have been respected had one of the patients been seriously ill.

574 593 562 During *qurbān bairām* the husband permitted his younger wife, accompanied by an adult stepson, two of the adolescent daughters and a baby, to pay a family visit to Halabja. The wife extended the visit by several days on her own initiative, the party proceeding with a hired car to another branch of the family. On the wife's return she was violently reproached for this by her husband. How weak a husband's position can be in a polygamous home with adult daughters was on this occasion demonstrated. Faced by a united feminine front of two wives and five daughters, and the visible and invisible aid from neighbouring homes, he was forced to beat an unconditional retreat. As Gautier says about conditions in a Muslim home of this kind: "L'homme a contre soi toutes les femmes de son harem, et toutes celles des harems voisins, et toutes celles de la ville ... coalition silencieuse, souriante et implacable", and goes on to say: "... Cet affreux tyran, le maître du harem, armé de pouvoir absolu et des droits les plus révoltants, c'est probablement le mari le plus trompé qui soit au monde ..."[27]. As I saw it, a woman belonging to the uneducated urban milieu, continually in contact with neighbouring women, was in a remarkably strong position, and the husband, despite his right of decision in many respects, in a correspondingly weaker one. On the other hand, when employing Western terminology, we must describe her seclusion as a manifestation of a state of bondage.

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THE MAN'S POSITION IN THE HOUSE

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The man's place in the home. The man's place in the home must be viewed in conjunction with the distribution of authority between men and women.

Within the village aristocracy the guest house was the man's particular domain. In addition, his radius of action was the world outside the home. He moved about the village, inspected his fields, paid visits to other villages and travelled to Baghdad, Kirkuk or Sulaimani on business and pleasure. His freedom of movement was limited only by time, urge, and economic circumstances. At the same time he was a semi-partner in the life lived in the family section of the house. (This to us seems a matter of course, but it had no parallel in any of the other three milieus.) He not only ate and slept in the home, but also spent some hours of the day in the family circle. During the time I witnessed daily life in the Sheikh's home at Topzawa, I noticed that relations between husband and wives were warm, lively, and pleasant. The presence of two female strangers, my interpreter and I, passed off easily and naturally. Male relatives arriving on longer or shorter visits also joined the family life, and a common life existed in the other homes of the village aristocracy that I visited.

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In the humble village milieu, on the other hand, the man spent his leisure hours with the other men of the village in the tea house or chatted with groups in the village booth. Village men danced alone some evenings before a wedding in order to utilize some musicians who had arrived. In the village milieu there were far greater possibilities for a male group life than obtained for the village aristocracy, and consequently the division between the worlds of men and women—so characteristic of Muslim areas—was encountered.

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At first sight a common life within the home was to be expected in the educated urban milieu, but there was surprisingly little of this. The men could be seen sitting in the street outside the tea house, walking around together in the streets or in the park, which was only open to women on one day of the week when men were excluded. From the point of view of work, for example in the schools, there was in the educated urban milieu no division between the men's and women's worlds. The division arose in leisure hours when the women either paid or received visits at which no men were present. Mixed parties with married couples were unknown. The home thus belonged to the women in the leisure hours, the men spending their time with other men. During a visit my interpreter and I paid to one of her female colleagues, married to a male colleague, the husband was at home. He gave the impression of being unaccustomed to, and not quite happy about, the situation, existing out of consideration for a European guest. On another occasion when several women teachers called, all colleagues of the wife, he was not present. As in the humble village milieu, the educated urban community split into two worlds outside working hours, each going its own way.

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This division appeared in its purest form in the home of my interpreter. Here the father only returned home to eat his meals and to spend the night. The rest of the time he passed in his small business in the town. He was a representative of a Baghdad firm that supplied electrical articles. His leisure

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

was in turn received as an honoured guest. To illustrate how a husband's position in a Kurdish Muslim home appeared to a young Englishman, I quote a letter received from one of the British engineers at the Dokan Dam Site who, with his wife, visited my interpreter's home after my departure: "Our visit ... almost coincided with a wedding of one of the sisters there ... it is certainly a woman's world in that household. The day after the wedding, the next day that we were there, the new husband was nowhere to be seen, and when we asked where he was we got the answer that already they had got tired of him kicking his heels round the house and they had sent him out in the town." As Blackman[29] says of the Egyptian *fellāhīn*-woman: "Though theoretically they are supposed to be entirely in subjection to the male sex, in practise they can, and often do, maintain a very firm hold on their husbands ... Indeed, I am often inclined to think that it is the poor oppressed Egyptian man who has a claim to my sympathy, and that the over-ruled, oppressed wife is somewhat of a myth".

In regard to possibility of movement and the distribution of authority between man and woman, it appears from the foregoing that the four feminine milieus within the area investigated evince the following picture (see diagram).

Distribution of culture elements inside the four milieus.

Culture elements	Village aristocracy		Humble village		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
Face veil and *abā*	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+
Seclusion	+	+					+	+
Freedom of movement			+	+	+	+		
Position of women	equal to men		inferior to men		equal to men		superior to men	
Common life	+							
Polygamy	+		(+)				+	

I *In the village aristocracy*: No veil, but the maintenance of seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between man and woman. A certain common life exists outside the home.

II *In the humble village milieu*: Neither veil nor seclusion. Distribution of authority in the man's favour. Slight or no common life inside the home, that is to say the maintenance of the social barrier between the men's and women's worlds.

III *In the educated urban milieu*: Use of the veil, but no seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between men and women. Slight common life in the home, thus the maintenance of the social barrier between the worlds of men and women.

IV *In the uneducated urban milieu*: Both veil and seclusion. Distribution of authority to woman's advantage. No common life in the home, thus the maintenance of a barrier between the worlds of men and women.

It is hoped that it appears from the foregoing how difficult it is to use the term "free position" (or lack of it) and "equality" (or lack of it) when it is a matter of the Kurdish variant of the Islamic cultural pattern. Seclusion cannot be compared with the lack of liberty that existed in our culture until the

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5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

majority of the population are Khanaqin, Kifri, Koi Sanjaq, Ruwandiz, Aqra, Amadiya, Dohuk and Zakho. Kirkuk city is very mixed but contains a large Kurdish element. The professional and intellectual classes, as well as the larger land-owners, tend, as would be expected, to collect in the towns, and there is always a steady drift of these out of Kurdistan to Baghdad.

The rural element consists for the most part of settled villagers; the nomads, once numerous, now form only a small proportion of the whole. Though not all villagers are in fact tribesmen, the organization of society outside the towns may be said, for all practical purposes, still to be essentially tribal, with groups of villages owing a kind of feudal allegiance to a landlord, a Shaykh of one of the dervish fraternities, or a tribal Agha who may have imposed himself on the village by force. With the progressive consolidation of the authority of the administration, and with the spread of education, the villagers have not unnaturally begun to refuse to submit to the impositions, sanctioned by ancient custom perhaps but not enforceable at law, by which these barons, especially the Aghas having no title to the land, were accustomed to maintain their position. In many parts of the country the old social organization is breaking down.

II.

The south-western boundary of Iraqi Kurdistan runs for most of its length across the plain. But immediately to the north-east of the line the ground begins to rise, first as a maze of foothills, and then in a series of long, parallel, limestone ridges running from south-east to north-west, each loftier than the last, up to the main chain of Zagros, which over much of its length marks the Persian frontier. In the extreme north-west these ranges merge into the eastern extension of the Taurus system. On the Persian frontier there are many peaks of over 10,000 feet. It follows that there is a great variety of climatic conditions. The country is traversed by three important affluents of the Tigris, the Great Zab from Turkey, and the Little Zab and the Sirwan (Diyala) from Persia.

A railway from Baghdad following closely the line of the old high road through Kifri and Kirkuk to Arbil serves Kurdistan south of the Great Zab; the main line up the right bank of the Tigris links Mosul directly with Baghdad and, as already mentioned, skirts the Kurdish districts of the extreme north-west. Most of the market towns are now accessible by automobile. Transportation in the remoter highlands and between villages is by mule and donkey; oxen are still used by the nomads as beasts of burden.

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

Insofar as these grievances had some foundation in fact enough has already been said to show that the prevailing state of affairs was due, in part at any rate, to political circumstances beyond the control of the government, and in part to the restlessness of the Kurds themselves which for long periods had brought the administration in a large part of Kurdistan to a standstill. Some of the neglect, too, was undoubtedly due not to malice but to a tendency, not unknown elsewhere, for the higher authorities to take more thought for the parts of the country near the center than for the distant outposts.

However that may be, the result was that just when the earlier agitators were developing into elder statesmen who, sobered by experience, no longer regarded separation as feasible or desirable there was growing up a new generation nurtured on a sense of grievance and frustration. Resentment was further embittered by insulting references to the minorities not infrequently made by pan-Arab orators in moments of fanatical exaltation. In all the countries of the Middle East the western Powers are regarded as the supporters of the old reactionary Beys and Pashas who have retained most of the political power in their own hands (the charge is unfair but it would prolong this paper unduly to examine it here). It is only to be expected, then, that disgruntled youth (and especially young Kurds with a racial added to a social grievance) should look to Russia for its inspiration. The Russians have long been the neighbours of the Kurds through the Caucasian provinces, and, as we have seen, a small part of Kurdistan lies within the boundaries of the Soviet Union. Even before 1918 Kurdish malcontents in Turkey and Persia were accustomed to seek support from the Russians. For the Russians exploitation of Kurdish unrest would be nothing new, indeed something of the kind has been seen comparatively recently at the time of the short-lived 'Kurdish Republic' of Mahabad in Persian Kurdistan, and again in 1947 when Mulla Mustafa of Barzan, a fugitive rebel from Iraq, was welcomed in Soviet Armenia, given high military rank, and encouraged to broadcast in Kurdish from Erivan.

But with every year that passes any concerted armed revolt becomes more improbable. The mercantile classes, realizing as they do that economically the Kurdish north is bound hand and foot to Baghdad, have never shown any enthusiasm for anything but the mildest form of nationalism, and the programme of development now in hand must have the effect of binding the whole country together more closely than ever before. The old loyalties to religious Shaykhs and tribal Aghas have been too deeply undermined for any self-appointed leader to command a serious measure of support in any violent adventure. The complexity of modern weapons has given the government an overwhelming advantage

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

over tribesmen armed only with rifles and limited supplies of ammunition, and, with the advent of aircraft and new types of mechanical transport suitable for rough country, even their former advantage of superior mobility has passed to the forces of law and order. In any case, those of the old stormy petrels who are still alive have been softened by a growing dependence on the amenities of the towns and on modern luxuries brought within reach by improved communications, while their sons, most of whom have been educated in government schools, are tending to become dependent, like the rest of the new middle class, on regular employment in the army, the civil service, or the professions. Nationalistic agitation might perhaps seek to profit from any agrarian unrest, but apart from this it is likely to express itself in little more than the clandestine circulation of leaflets by societies calling themselves 'communist' or occasional localized riots by students and bazaar loafers.

Whatever the mistakes and short-comings of the past, Iraq is the one country where the existence of the Kurds as such has come to be officially recognized. In Sulaimani and Arbil especially not only is Kurdish the official language but the whole atmosphere of the administration is Kurdish. The sense of being at the mercy of an uncomprehending bureaucracy in a distant capital has been mitigated by a recent measure of devolution applying to the whole country, the Provincial Administration Law, whereby funds are placed at the disposal of, or may be raised by, the local authorities to be spent in accordance with policies locally determined. In spite of earlier handicaps Kurds have risen to the highest offices. One of the intellectuals imprisoned in 1931 has since held the portfolio of Education, and all the necessary books for the primary classes are now available in good, idiomatic Kurdish. A son of Shaykh Mahmud and one of the Shaykh's principal lieutenants, an officer of great ability, have been Minister of Social Affairs in different Cabinets. For two or three years past the Minister of the Interior (a key office, second only to that of Prime Minister) and the *Mutasarrif* of Mosul (the senior provincial governorship) have been Kurds born and bred in Sulaimani. Fair numbers of students are now being sent to Europe and America. If there was ever any justification for the old fear that the Kurds of Iraq would look north or east for their salvation, there can be very little in it now. The present Prime Minister, General Nuri al-Sa'id, has a comprehending and liberal approach to the Kurdish question. It is still too early to say that all the old wounds have been healed, but there seems to be a new spirit abroad that augurs well for the future.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

take on the major responsibility. In tobacco picking, all the women and children of the village take part.

Rice cultivation usually takes place far from the village, if it is pursued at all. Rice requires a quite well developed irrigation system, connected with a dependable perennial stream, usually in the main valley bottom. The growing season is long, generally said to last some seven months. Persons living close to the fields are hired to tend the rice, and 1/3 of the crop is collected by the landowner as tax. It is therefore an expensive crop, but is considered to be the finest kind of food, and has considerable prestige value. In Table I, village status groups are indicated by the size of individual rice crops.

ECONOMIC CLASSES.

The system of progressive delegation of land rights in the tenant villages, referred to above with respect to the basic food crop, is in considerable measure responsible for the lack of efficiensy in agricultural techniques and the low level of capital investment in equipment. Each person in the chain from laborer to landowner is only interested in obtaining his part return, not in further investments. An example might illustrate the point.

Threshing is generally done with six oxen, without any mechanical appliance or equipment. There does however exist a quite efficient thresher (mentioned by Leach, 1940) which could greatly reduce the necessary expenditure of man-hours. The value of this tresher was given as £ 12, its life approximately 20 years. It is generally considered that 2 mules working 3 days with the thresher do an equivalent of 6 oxen working 10 days without it. If we, to simplify comparison, equate the work value of a mule with that of an ox, that gives a reduction to 1/3 in man hours and 1/12 in expended energy. Though the gain thus seems quite spectacular, the thresher is in fact very rarely seen. The laborer himself has no capital to invest in equipment. The tenant farmer pays the laborer the customary share for doing the threshing, whether it is one way or an other, and is certainly not interested in assuming any further expenses. Continuing up the hierarchy, there is no greater incentive to such «investment» for the intermediary or the landowner. Conceiv-

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

ably, the laborer might save or borrow enough money to procure a thresher, and then be in a position to take on more work and thus increase his income. What the laborer with access to such capital in fact does, however, is to become a tenant farmer by obtaining the minimal equipment necessary for farming. He then rises one notch in the class hierarchy, and may employ laborers in the peak season of the harvest!

A class distinction is thus constantly reinforced within each village by these dispositions of capital and labor, dividing it into the distinct groups of tenant farmers and laborers — *sapani* (harvestmen) in Kurdish terms. Prerequisite to being a tenant farmer is a minimum capital (1951) of ca. £ 50: 2 oxen at £ 10-15, plowing equipment £ 10, seed pr. donum of land ca. £ 1. In addition comes the normal stock of productive animals for household use, of which the harvestmen also generally have a certain number.

The frequency of tenant farmers doing all or a major part of the agricultural work themselves was not ascertained, but it is certainly quite high. Thus the daily routine of field labor, and similarly the organization of household units, is essentially similar for the two classes, the tenant farmers and the laborers.

This two-class distinction is sufficient as far as the tenant village is concerned. The landowner and his family, occupying a third class position, are usually residents of a nearby larger town. In the tribal village, a similar two-class distinction tends to grow up between freeholding tribal farmers and conquered non-tribal tenants, though often the situation becomes more complex (see below).

HOUSEHOLDS.

The division of labor in the village is thus to a certain extent regulated by a two-class system. But the main division of economic roles and responsibilities is found within each household unit. The household is economically independent, and consists typically of one elementary family: husband, wife, and their children. Among these, the economic roles are distributed along the same lines that will be familiar from rural Europe. It should be unnecessary to enumerate these in detail. The male finds most of his work in the fields; his

Self-

565 461 554 respecting men should not engage in economic pursuits, their main role was formerly that of warriors, protecting the people and flocks from attacks by other groups. Only the very poor herded their own cattle. Where one person does not own enough animals to make up the normal herding unit of 500, composite herds are created along kinship lines, with father, brother, *mam*, etc. Differences in wealth are tremendous, apparently on a continuous scale, some persons owning a total of 2,000 animals, some as few as 50, some quite destitute and dependent on richer relatives for subsistence and work.

621 614 With the tendency towards parallel cousin marriage, every group tends to split up into separate lineages, which continue separate over long periods of time. Thus semi-endogamous sections are created within the *tira* itself, usually identified with separate *khels*. But since the *khel* is a residential unit, the main unity of which stems from economic ties, persons of any lineage section may travel for longer or shorter periods with any *khel* to which their economic activities might attach them. Generally, one of these semi-endogamous lineage sections will form the wealthy core of a *khel*, to which a more or less variable group of less privileged families, related or not, are connected by economic ties.

622 614 581 These endogamous tendencies are also operative in the family of the *Raiz*. The position as *Raiz* is inherited, and the family of the *Raiz* therefore takes on the appearance of a noble class or caste. The process by which such a caste would truly emerge, however, would be through intermarriage with the «noble» lineage segments of other tiras. There seem in fact to be few such kinship ties established between *Raiz* families of different groups. A certain number of marriages will be exogamous as far as the *Raiz* family is concerned, if only from the occasional lack of available spouses in the limited family group. But these exogamous marriages more frequently establish ties between the *Raiz* and wealthy lineage segments among the «commoners» within the *tira* itself. It would thus seem that marriages are manipulated to reinforce the power of the *Raiz* within the *tira* itself, rather than to separate him off as a member of a distinctive and noble caste. To reify a distinction between «nobleman» and «commoner» within the *tira* would thus be an error, since the separa-

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554 621 previous discussion, and are indeed implicit in the systems of status hierarchies. An attempt will be made to relate the various status positions to ideals expressed on such scales, and in the final paragraphs of the section to outline the main scales on which individuals may be rated.

ECONOMIC CLASSES

• 565 621 The village hierarchy of class differences, based on division of labor and attendant differences in wealth, has been discussed above, pp. 20 ff. This hierarchy is, as we saw, produced primarily by the feudal principle of delegation of work on the land, and is conceptualized in terms of distinct social classes, each with traditionally defined rights and privileges in their relations to each other. Each class is thus a status category, and they are arranged in a hierarchy leading from *laborer* through *tenant farmer*, occasionally an *intermediary capitalist*, and culminating in the *landowner*. This is in itself a power hierarchy, since each superior status directly gives opportunity for control over persons of inferior status positions, within the traditional limits. The *freeholding farmer* class, on the other hand, occupies a status partly divorced from this immediate power hierarchy. Characteristically, where such freeholding farmers are found in a village partly controlled by a large landowner, every effort seems to be made on the part of the landowner to secure property rights also to the remaining fraction of land, and thus place all members of the community in the unambiguous hierarchy of control and power. Consequently freeholding farmers with property of any significance are generally found in tribally organized communities, and a dichotomy between only freeholding vs. only tenant communities generally holds true. *Freeholding farmers* as a class tend to be on a par with the *tenant farmer* class in the larger class system, and frequently control a small group of *laborers*, and in certain areas also the serf class, the *Meskjin*. The main features of the reciprocal relations between these classes have been sketched previously.

565 621 243 609 The special position of the *shepherd* remains to be discussed. He is essentially a laborer, working for a stipulated annual payment in kind (grain), but also receives a sheet of unleavened bread daily

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from each household he serves. The status of the shepherd is rather low, and he is frequently a foreigner in the village. In point of fact, many of the field laborers are also of foreign origin, but they become more or less assimilated in the community, whereas the solitary occupation of the shepherd prevents or delays his complete assimilation. — In general, the sheep and goats tend to be herded by the small boys of the village — sons of laborers — and the adult shepherd or herdsman is put in charge only of the large cattle.

The position as mullah (roughly equivalent to priest), regarded as an occupational category in the economic scale, is of minor importance in the small Kurdish villages, and is generally supplemented by farming. Other resident occupational statuses are rarely found.

The following is an example of the class composition of a small tenant village:

	households	persons
absentee landowner	—	—
tenant farmers (incl. one mullah)	25	123
laborers	5	22
shepherd	1	3
widows with no near kin	2	4
total	33	152

RELIGIOUS CATEGORIES

We have so far distinguished two main hierarchies, one governing the field of political organization, and related to a scale of administrative authority, the second governing the economic field, and related to a scale of wealth. A remaining group of named status positions, less clearly hierarchically organized, governs the religious field. These are the positions of Derwish, *Shaikh*, *Sayyid*, Mullah, and *Hadji*.

Derwishes. The derwish religious fraternities illustrate, in their form and function, most clearly a general trend in the Kurdish villager's interpretation of Islam, and how the religious field may be brought into relation with the power hierarchy in the village community.

The Kurdish emphasis on power is in direct conflict with Moslem

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irregulars. The just treatment extended to these prisoners was later the official British grounds for commuting Shaikh Mahmud's death sentence to life-long exile (later commuted further).

Hafsakhan has since retained a prominent position in Suleimani, and today receives visitors of both sexes in her own gardens, independent of her husband, Shaikh Kader. A small, darkhaired, attractive woman, she shows a social grace and intelligence that fully justifies her reputation.

Women who are active in the political field remain the exceptions, however, even among the most prominent families. It would seem that in addition to exceptional ability as well as interest — and the latter is probably fairly rare too — somewhat unusual circumstances are required to give a woman the opportunity to enter publicly into political life. Adela Khanem did so as the trusted representative and later widow of Osman Pasha, and surely gained popularity in Ottoman times from her Persian origin; Hafsakhan showed wise resolution in a situation for which there was no clear precedence. But the mere fact that such women are found at all in Moslem Kurdistan indicates the very great prestige attached to their other qualifications, primarily the fact of membership in the prominent families to which they belong.

The impediment of low birth. A second impediment to leadership is that of low birth, or, in the tribal system, descent from a non-lineage member. This, just as female sex, does not seem ever to be an absolute impediment that can not be out-weighed by qualifications in other fields. Status in Kurdish society is certainly in part inherited, and descent from prominent persons is a contributary qualification to leadership, but does not seem in any political context to be an absolute *requirement*.

Before external administration «froze» the formerly fluid feudal hierarchies of Southern Kurdistan, there were constant changes in personnel and organization of territories. Political power was roughly related to land ownership — obviously, since land was passed on in family lines, political hierarchies may be spoken of in terms of «dynasties». But there were only practical, no fundamental, difficulties preventing a laborer's son from working his way up

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through a feudal hierarchy, and eventually be rewarded with a feudal fief, or alternatively to become a leader of a war party large enough to conquer a domain. Both these paths of upward mobility were in fact in constant use, and the problem facing the ambitious youth was simply that of how best to become qualified, in terms of wealth and prestige, to assume leadership. This wealth and prestige could be achieved through luck in small raids, bravery and self-assertion, ability to handle people, wide extension of ties of friendship, and the impediment of low birth could thus be out-weighed.

There is, however, an aristocratic undertone to much Kurdish political thinking, and especially members of the highest leading families of the area are ascribed charisma by virtue of their descent, on the same pattern as are the descendants of the Prophet. Thus, what is passed on in the families of high status is more than mere wealth; and the fact of low birth, quite apart from its disadvantage in terms of initial poverty, would create considerable difficulty if the person were pretending for the very highest status positions. This aspect is clearly expressed in several traditional accounts from Baban times, where the brave hero of modest birth in the critical moment, when he could have achieved the highest position, «knows his place» and is later rewarded by the Baban Pasha. (E. g. a story of Salim Beg, who was offered the position as ruler of Southern Kurdistan by the Persian Nadir Shah). But the Baban family itself is said to be descended from Fakka Hamma Derishman, who owned no more than one small village in Pushdir.

In the tribal system, there enters the additional factor that descent from the apical ancestor of the lineage is a theoretical prerequisite for membership in the group, and thus for political power in it. Even this basic principle of organization can be circumvented, however, if a person appears who by high status or de-facto power can control the group.

An obvious example is the Jaf confederacy, where the *Begzada* do not claim common descent with all the *tiras* in the confederacy, but none the less occupy a position of unquestioned authority. Other examples are found in the recent history of the Hamawands, who for a while followed the Jaf *Begzada*, later the Berezinje Shaikhs at

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the time of Shaikh Said and Shaikh Mahmud. Thus, while no one who is not a member of the lineage can achieve a position *within* the segmentary lineage system, the lineage group as a whole, or even a section of it, temporarily broken away from the remainder of the descent group, can join a larger confederacy under a «foreign» leader.

In summary, one might say that there are no *absolute* impediments, or, inversely, necessary requirements, relating to leadership in any of the Southern Kurdish political systems; that persons theoretically may qualify for leadership by any combination of part-statuses, so long as they add up to a total status position sufficiently exhalted to correspond to, or «justify», the political and other demands involved in leading the group in question.

INCOMPATIBILITY OF PART-STATUSES

Clearly, only ascribed status positions, based on sex and birth, could function as true impediments to leadership. Various achieved status positions may be incompatible with high political positions, but since such status positions can be changed, they are at most temporary impediments, and can better be discussed under the present heading.

Most of these incompatibilities have been suggested above. Of the part-statuses in the religious field, the *mullah* will tend to be rather separated from the general village commuity — he is frequently a tenant-farmer, but rarely occupies any other part-status position, with the occasional exception of *Hadji*. Membership in a *derwish* brotherhood is clearly a badge of low class, and the derwish will not occupy any of the higher status positions. Conversely, the title of *Hadji* is a badge of high status, and is combined with any of the higher part-status positions, including that of the mullah. A *woman* can not be a mullah.

The hierarchy of class, as implied in the discussion, seems to divide the local community into separable categories that do not significantly overlap in terms of prestige or general position in the village and supra-village hierarchy.

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178 554 part-status — his ability to *rally* persons is improved or impaired, with direct results on his position in the power hierarchy. Either or both of these reactions may result — i. e. primary changes in either or both the de-facto (a) and the «ideal» (b) hierarchy may be produced. In certain cases the change produced by the same factor in these two hierarchies may be in contradiction, and the final adjustment is then dependent on the degree of external interference.

The patterns of these reactions and changes are set by the precedence of loyalties in conflict situations, crudely sketched above. It should then be theoretically possible to correlate the nature and form of social change in Southern Kurdistan with the factors. The assumption is generally, and I think legitimately, made that all non-tribal groups of Kurds are ultimately to be derived from one or more tribal groups. At present, at any rate, the direction of change between the two poles, from *tribal* to non-tribal or *feudal*, is very evident, and some of the factors resulting in such a detribalization process clearly follow from the above discussion. There is further considerable indication that only the two poles themselves, described as *tribal* and *feudal*, are moderately stable, and that change from the one to the other, once initiated, is a moderately rapid process. This is e. g. indicated by the numerical preponderance of villages of the polar types as compared to intermediary types. It also follows logically from the concept of incompatibilty of certain part-statuses in a single village: many of the tribal and non-tribal formal categories or part-statuses overlap in their fields of relevance, and this results in competition, and elimination or re-definition, where they are combined in one local community. Once the process of un-ravelling is under way, the complete set of non-tribal categories will thus tend to replace its tribal counterparts.

178 423 • 565 Probably the most potent agents of social change, with a very direct relation to the power hierarchy in the village, are changes in the pattern of land tenure. Ottoman land codes and taxation policy, corrupt administration, and the increasing emphasis in Kurdish culture on leisure and real property have all encouraged the concentration of land in few hands, and the establishment of feudal patterns of delegation of usifruct rights on land. The resulting class hierarchy

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laborer-tenant-intermediary-absentee landowner, differs radically from that generally associated with tribal organization, which includes relatively few laborers and/or *Meskjin*, and a majority of freeholding farmers.

The incompatibility of categories from these two class hierarchies is evident, as is the tendency for the hierarchy embodying most power — i. e. the more highly centralized organization headed by the landowner — to replace the other. The absentee landowner who owns only part of the land of a village, will find his powers greatly impaired by the co-existance of freeholding farmers with his tenants in the local community. The sanctions by which he disciplines his tenants are reduced in effect — eviction from land is less serious, eviction from the village dependent on the vote of villagers outside his control. Similarly, he would be limited in his freedom to settle new farmers on the land by a veto on the part of the freeholding farmers, who could refuse the newcomer village membership. The village headman would almost certainly be elected from among the freeholding farmers, and serve as a coordinator of opposition to the landowner, etc. etc. The landowner, occupying the part-status that embodies most power in this situation of conflicting interests will tend to apply his powers to eliminate the incompatible status category — in this case by buying or forcibly taking over the proprietary rights on the remaining land, and giving the formerly freeholding farmers tenant status.

Where the right to eviction, and in fact the final powers of decision in all village matters, are taken away from the formerly freeholding farmer group, it becomes impossible for it to control a class of *Meskjin* serfs, and this status group is similarly eliminated, and presumably assimilated as tenant farmers of lower status, following from their lower wealth.

A second major agent of change, or at times a concomitant of these economic changes, is the factor of modification of the administrative system by external administration. The tribal administrative mechanism, based on «unquestioned» kinship-patterned loyalties, has been discussed above (pp. 69 ff). Where external administration — large absentee landowner or central government alike — enters and

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Iraq

square yard of uncultivated ground around the town is used for this game. Those who cannot find space in other parts run up and down the streets playing football.

The social system of the Kurds is essentially feudal. Up to recent times no man could prosper or even feel safe unless under the protection of a powerful aghā, whose armed retainers guarded the rāiā (serfs) from any who might attempt to tyrannize the village. In return for this the aghā exercised an overlordship, collecting a percentage of the crops, a fee for marriages, and other taxes. He called out the villagers to fight an enemy when required, and was generally in the position of a feudal baron of ancient England.

An aghā used his family as the basis of his power. He produced as many sons as possible, who would be loyal to him in an extremity, and put each in charge of a village, or group of villages, to unite them in the common cause when necessary. If sufficiently powerful he might bring other villages under his control by the simple expedient of annexing them from his powerful protectors. Thus in many Kurdish tribes there is no blood relationship between the aghās and the rāiās, but the aghās are of a common descent.

Another important feature in the social system is the shaikhs. Among the Arabs the term 'shaikh' signifies a tribal chief but in Kurdistan a shaikh is a holy man. Certain shaikhly families have acquired the title because they claim descent from the Prophet Mohammed, in which case it corresponds to the title of *sayyid* among other Mohammedan peoples; other shaikhs are holy men, but do not claim such ancestry. Not unnaturally the former class is the more influential and powerful.

It is unfortunate that a number of the shaikhs have not concerned themselves with the religious welfare of the people. Like the priestly class throughout the world, they have at times used religious influence to increase material power, and become analogous to powerful tribal

[p 392 (e)]

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Iraq

793 ughan. But on account of the veneration
• 794 in which they are held they can usually
command influence in circumstances
where that of an ughe has begun to wane.

794 One day when I was sitting under a
795 lofty lawee on the roof of a well-known
chaikh's house a terrific squall of wind and
rain suddenly arose. For a moment it
seemed as if the thick tree-trunks which
formed the framework of the shelter would
be torn from their foundations. A chaikhly
relative, seeing the fear on the faces of his
wife, smiled benevolently, saying:

"Hasid sun! I will place my hands upon
the tree, and lo, it will not fall."

Suiting the action to the word, he
leaned his weight against the tree, and
indeed it did remain standing.

For a moment the overwhelming reli-
gious tension in the atmosphere was such
that I could scarcely refrain from echoing
the expression of veneration which rose
from the lips of the men around. I could

[p 893(A)]